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JOURNAL

OF THE

EPIGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF INDIA

[BHARATIYA PURABHILEKHA PATRIKA]

(BEING VOL. XI OF STUDIES IN INDIAN EPIGRAPHY)

VOLUME ELEVEN : 1984

PUBLISHED BY

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DHARWAR

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Editor

Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer

MYSORE

Secretary and Executive Editor

Dr. S. H. Ritti

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EDITORIAL

From Dharwad to Dharwad again:

It was in January 1975 that our first Annual Congress was held here in Dharwad, under the auspices of the Department of Ancient Indian History & Epigraphy at the Karnatak University. Attracting a large number of scholars who were happy at the formation of such a Society, the Congress provided a firm base for the growth of the Society. Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra, the President of the first Congrass expressed his pleasure by stating in his Presidential address that 'it is a dream come true'. Dr. Sarojini Mahishi, the then Union Minister of State for Law, Justice and Company Affairs, who inaugurated the first Annual Congress, appreciated the *motto* of the Society and concluded her speech saying *Vṛiddhirastu.* True to her hopes the Society has grown well. After completing ten years of fruitful existence, we are back here again at Dharwad to look back and review our growth

During these ten years, the Society has traversed many parts of the country by organising Annual Congresses in different States (a list of these congresses is printed elsewhere in the issue) and it has now assumed an all India Character and has been able to build up a fraternity of epigraphists. True to the words again, of our founder Chairman, Dr. G S.Gai, the Society has created interest in epigraphy amongst younger generation of scholars. Fairly good number of younger scholars from different Universities and other academic institutions have been effectively participating in our Annual Congresses. We hope this eleventh Congrees, which marks the completion of a successful decade, paves way for further growth with more vigour and strength, and with better plans and projects.

The Journal:

Our first three issues of the Journal were issued under the title 'Studies in Indian Epigraphy' because of certain exigencies, but with the 4th volume onwards it has assumed its usual form and name as Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India. This is the XIth volume of the Journal. We are happy to note that the Journal has been well received in the academic circles. The index to the first ten volumes appended to this issue speaks about the contribution of the Journal to Epigraphical Studies in the recent years. It has been able to bring to light not only many new inscriptions but also many younger scholars in the field We humbly believe that this is no mean achievement. This has been possible because of the unstinted cooperation of our members from all quarters of the country.

It is our pleasent duty to place on record here our appreciation and gratitude to the Indian Council of Historical Research for their helping hand in the form of grants for the publication of these issues. We are sure, we can bank upon them for the publication of the further issues as well.

Presidential Addresses and Praśastis :

We are happy that we have been able to bring out this year a collection of all the Presidential addresses delivered during

the past ten years, to mark the successful completion of a decade by the Society. We hope that the thoughts, the ideas and the suggestions expressed by the best men in the field regarding the epigraphical studies in our country will serve as a reference work for all those who are interested in these studies. The book contains the texts of the *praśastis* presented with Copper Plates conferred on the distinguished scholars of our country. In addition to making an interesting reading, these *praśastis* place on permanent record the achievements of our stalwarts, which serve as a becon light to the younger generations.

We take this opportunity to place on record our deep appreciation of and gratitude to our friend Pandit V S.Subramaniyam who has been our official composer of the *praśastis* for his pleasing and lively compositions.

New Books

In the last issue of our Journal we made a reference to a Seminar on the Kadambas held at Sirsi and also a Seminar on the South and South East Asian Epigraphy held at Tokyo as a part of the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa. We are happy that we have an occasion to refer to them here again about the outcome of both these Seminars viz., a volume of Kadamba inscriptions and the collection of papers presented at the Tokyo Seminar. Happily indeed, both these volumes are being released at this 11th Congress at Dharwad Nothing is more pleasing to the Society than to do this which furthers the cause of epigraphical studies. We congratulate the Editors of both these volumes for their valuable contributions to the Epigraphical literature.

Our Congratulations :

We are happy to bring to the notice of our members that two of our accredited members of the Executive Council have been elevated to the higher position Dr. K. V. Ramesh as Director of Epigraphy and Shri M.N Katti as Chief Epigraphist While congratulating them for their elevation, we hope that these new position will help them to serve the cause of epigraphy with greater zeal and vigour.

Our Thanks:

As usual, the responsibility of bringing out this journal has been ably shouldered by our friends at Mysore Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Editor, and Dr. Venkatesh, Asst. Secretary and their associates. The printing has been handled as usual, and ably, by Shri S.K Lakshminarayana and his enthusiastic assistant Shri R.Venkatesh of the Vidyasagara Printing and Publishing House Mysore. We express our heart-felt thanks to all of them.

Shrinivas Ritti
Secretary & Executive Editor

Details of Ten Annual Congresses of the Epigraphical Society of India

Date and Year of Conference	Venue	President	Scholar Honoured
21st to 23rd Jan. 1975 *First Congress*	Dept. of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwad	Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra	Shri. N. Lakshminarayana Rao
2nd to 3rd Oct. 1976 *Second Congress*	Department of History, University of Indore, Indore	Dr. D. C. Sircar	Prof. V. V. Mirashi
25th to 27th March, 77 *Third Congress*	Rashtrakavi Govind Pai Memorial Institute, Udupi	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	Dr. G. S. Gai
11th to 13th Jan. 1978 *Fourth Congress*	State Museum & Dept. of Ancient History & Archaeology, University of Madras, Madras	Shri R. S. Panchamukhi	Dr. D. C. Sircar
3rd to 5th Feb. 1979 *Fifth Congress*	Mythic Society, Bangalore	Dr. Z. A. Desai	Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
9th to 11th March, 1980 *Sixth Congress*	Department of History, Gujarat Vidyapeetha, Ahmedabad	Dr. K. D. Bajpai	Dr. T. V. Mahalingam
16th to 18th Jan. 1981 *Seventh Congress*	Indian Museum, Calcutta	Dr. S. R. Rao	....
13th to 15th Feb. 1982 *Eighth Congress*	Birla Institute of Indological Studies, Bhopal	Shri K. G. Krishnan	Dr. Z. A. Desai
2nd to 4th March, 1983 *Ninth Congress*	Dept. of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Gorakhapur University, Gorakhapur	Dr. Jagannath Agrawal	....
9th to 11th March, 1984 *Tenth Congress*	Dept. of History & Indian Culture, Marathawada University, Aurangabad	Shri. K.V. Soundara Rajan	Shri. H. K. Narasimhaswamy



AND NOW

XI Annual Congress

JANUARY, 7-9, 1985

DHARWAD

KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY

President :

Dr. Noboru Karashima

Professor of South Asian History, Faculty of letters, University of Tokyo, Japan. A Japanese Scholar of Indian studies with outstanding contributions like 'A Portrait of India,' 'Studies of Village Communities in Indian History,' 'A Concordance of the Names in the Chola Inscriptions,' 'South Indian History and Society,' 'Studies from inscriptions A. D. 850-1100', 'Indus Civilization' etc.

Scholar to be Honoured :

Prof. **Ganesh Hari Khare**

Honorary Professor, Poona University, Poona ; Chairman, Bharat Itihasa Samsodhana Mandal, Poona ; erudite scholar in Marathi, Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Persian and Arabic ; has written large number of books and research papers in English and Marathi on early and medieval Indian History, particularly Maharashtra ; President, Indian History Congress, 1979 ; Member, Historical Records Commission. Among his notable contributions are the volumes of Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan.



RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS[1]

K. V. Soundara Rajan

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentle-
:n, I deem it a great privilege to have
en called upon to occupy this chair
lay, as the General President of this
nth Congress of the Epigraphical Society
India. I dare say that it is my aca-
nic link with the discipline of Epigraphy
l continuing collaborative institutional
olvement in the Archaeological Survey
India and my own associations with
Epigraphical Society in various ways
t should have prevailed upon you to
ose to honour me with this Chairper-
ship. I am conscious of my humble
ition amidst the galaxy of academic and
fessional scholars in Epigraphy over
recent decades who have shed lustre
ie pursuit of this independent discipline
offer my homage and respects to them for
ing made Epigraphy a live and ver-
e medium in the process of communi-
on of human legacy across the millennia.
ı sub-continent which could boast of
ultiplicity of linguistic families and
ches thereof, as India is, the study of
growth of writing as a tool for his-
graphy and the evolution of a diversity
criptal modes is bound to be of para-
nt importance as a vehicle of social
nunication and archival potential which
id attained already in the pre-Christian
iries. The art of writing had much
er blossomed in India as a part of
arental Indus Civilization, though it
ast the onus of identifying and satis-
rily understanding it on posterity. We
/et amidst the dust and din of controversy in unravelling this enigma which was seemingly a crucial component of this antecedent urban efflorescence, millennia before India attained its present stamp of culture. Epigraphical scholars have a special commitment towards the facilitation of the intent and content of this Indus script riddle and should not be mere silent spectators to exclusive confrontations amidst a handful of ardent scholars who have staked their specialist claims for unlocking the key to this ancient writing as well as the language family to which it is germane. We shall have more to say on this later.

Meanwhile, it is my desire to look at the discipline of Epigraphy, for the nonce, from an archaeologist's viewpoint. It would certainly be agreed that in India, the archaeologist has been using epigraphy for the primary bias of his namely, comparative chronology and thus the epigraphical evidence is virtually confined to a confirmation, from certain temporal contexts, of the stratigraphic sequence,[2] and if I am not mistaken by my archaeologist colleagues, may I add that in this process the intrinsic dimensions of epigraphy have been under severe constraint and isolation. Inscribed data which start occurring mostly from the Mauryan times, have been utilized either in the form of numismatic antiquities or stamp, seal or such on terracotta, ivory or stone. Either way, they are taken as ancillary data which historic archaeology can be garnished with, in the

reconstruction of the life-style of the people. But do archaeologists have a frame-work and independent means of evaluating the literacy of the societies in which these occur, not to mention those antecedent to them ? Have they any rationale by which the capacity of a society which had extensive potential and displayed penchant for trading and dissemination of a variety of lore and knowledge, both ethical, moral and technical, could be discerned, diagnoised or appreciated ?[3] If Rukmiṇī sent a letter of supplication and redressal of her plight, through a brāhmaṇa messenger from Kuṇḍinapura in Vidarbha (which is modern Kauṇḍinyapura[4] and has yielded c. 8th century B.C., for its lowest strata) to Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva at Dvārakā, are the archaeologists entitled to deny, *prima facie*, the right of Rukmiṇī to inscribe in an intelligible script known to her, or to disown the story of this spectacular facility of communication both spatially and romantically between two persons who had heard of each other ? Will the spectre of Aśōka and Magasthenes[5] stand in the way of our ascribing the channel of expression by written word in that period, perhaps to a script form nearer to the late Harappan or post-Harappan graffito seen here and there before and beyond 15th century around these regions ? Did Rāma's ring[6] containing his name, as the story would have it, have to be a proven myth or a potential possibility, when we know that the Indus people wore rings and certainly knew a script and that was the time and place where, perhaps, one has to place Rāma and his illustrious warrior parent who, as tradition avers, had run to the succour of Indra in his battle with Śambara ? Did Vighnēśvara merely feign writing with his tusk tip when Vyāsa was reciting the *'Jayā'* or, is the whole stated tradition to be taken as a facile later display of literacy by an *alter-ego* of Vyāsa who could have neither seen original Vyāsa nor understood the genesis of Gaṇēśa ? If the cult of Gaṇēśa and Vyāsa could be shown as coeval, will it make us accept a possibly prevalent mode of writing then ? If Anāthapiṇḍika had brought a cart load of gold coins to be spread on the soil to be consecrated for the Buddha's usage, was he keeping the entire transaction in his mind's eye, or was he bringing the coins by weight or had some rational empirical means of estimating what he was committed to ? All this would show that writing itself is a socio-economic factor and one does not imagine an unlettered tradesman as the source of all economic well-being. The crux of the matter is that: (a) writing emerges inevitably in a multi-vocational polity and if such a polity has emerged, the germs of writing also have surely emerged ; and (b) that negative evidence is no indicator of non-existence. Nor is the absence of an alphabetical form an indication of the formative stage of usage-status of writing in that community. For instance, there is a time lag of more than a millennium between the provenance of the Indus script vestiges and that of the recrudescence of usage in the stage of 'second urbanisation' in the Iron Age. And taking note of the fact that in this interval, much water had flown down Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā-Yamunā systems, it would be enigmatic that the factors for writing noted above did not constitute the social

context for the re-emergence or the continuity of the written tradition. One may perhaps argue that since it is the clear presence of a trade and transport situation that would essentially create the need for writing, such an intensity of trade, either external or even internal, in bulk, might not have obtained in this interval, and similarly conditions favourable for an urban continuity in multiple avocation also, might not have been present. This is brought at this stage of my address only to show how pertinent is the need to look at the stages of an emerging script usage, as part of plank of the epigraphical study itself, well before the baptism of 'Brāhmī' formally in the Mauryan times.

What about the Indus civilization itself ? The latest study in Pakistan[7] shows that the beginning of this civilization could be taken back now to Kot-Diji stage IA and to earlier than 3135 B. c, by C 14 datings. The stratigraphic evidence confirms the continuance of the contents characterizing IB, or the mature Indus stage, implicating in the early phase all that followed in the mature phase, at least one millennium before the rise of occupation at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. As seen from Sarai Khola, Ghumla, Rahman Dehri, Kālibangan etc., on the early Harappan pottery, these traits also include, besides pottery fabrics and painted motifs, representations of identical forms on terracotta, of female figurines, and horned motif suggesting common beliefs throughout the 'Greater Indus Valley'. Simple marks or signs engraved or incised on pottery, as found at Rahman Dehri, appear to represent an early stage of Harappan script. This necessitates now an in-depth analysis of the question of the process by which changes from the early to mature phases (and even later stages, as seen in the Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī valleys, Sutlej, Beas and sub-montane Himalayas) took place. Such a study will certainly have *Inter alia*, something specific to argue about the authors of the Indus script. Further, the geographical extent of the early Harappan settlements revealed by recent intensive field work in Pakistan[8] in this decade is more than double that of the mature phase sites documented duing the last decade, showing that the settlements of the mature stage utilized the same riparian environment in which the communities of the early Harappan period were settled and had the same ceramics, craft, artefacts, terracotta, kiln technology (the last mentioned, as seen from those of Bahawalpur, identical to to those of Mohenjodaro and Lothal in shape[9]). This surely gives us a new understanding of this civilization and the burgeoning fact that it developed into the 'Greater Indus Valley', with outposts at Mehergarh, Shortugai and Oman and expansions into Rajasthan, Panjab and Haryana, shown by Kālibangan, Siswal, Mithathal, Banavali and Manda[10].

On top of this, we seem to have an involvement also with a re-examination of the authors of certain types of copper/bronze axes, especially the shaft-hole type discovered in 1961 in Pakistan in the villages of Manikhal and Shumari in Darel, different from the shapes known from the mature Harappan sites in the 'Greater Indus Valley' and found in late or post-Harappan contexts at Darel which compare with those

earlier discovered in the Persian Makran and Shahi Tump in south Baluchistan, besides those further afield from south Russia at Maikope and Tsarskai. These also have to be studied with the two Trunnion axes from Darel as well as that of Shalazon found in the Kurram valley a long time ago and considered by several scholars including Heine-Geldern[11] as likely to be linked typologically with those known from the Mediterranean region, Europe, Trans-Caucasia and northern Iran. Jet mar's observation[12] is that the occurrence of Trunnion axes of the 'western type' in North Pakistan indicates the penetration of Caucasian elements into the Steppes and eastwards in the Pamirs and then on to the Hindu Kush and the Karakorams and should have some connection with the movements of Aryan (linguistic) speaking people towards the end of the second millennium B. C. This would indeed have some exciting relevance to the nature of the possible authors of the Indus script by the long shot and would bring a new orientation in preference to our present tendency towards 'typing' these authors as either the Indo-Aryans or the proto-Dravidians, as being consistently contended. We are certainly led by these discoveries and the recrudescence of old issues, to avoid any hard and fast positions about the racial or ethnic affinities in dealing with Indus script as such, excepting for considering that the entire Baluchi piedmont from the 4th-3rd millennium B C. had been the crucible for several communities ; and the urban flowering under the early to mature Indus civilization phases saw them use a script of some formative kind which continued to be used without too much of a drastic development excepting for transformations from the ideographic pictorial to the syllabic forms and could certainly not give us yet a well consolidated grammatical fixation pointing to exclusive lingistic families to which they should be assignable. The devolution of the 'Greater Indus - Civilization' and the rise of certain viable Chalcolithic cultures in limited time range in many parts of Rajasthan, Gaṅgā–Yamunā *doab* and on the western fringe of the Central Indian plateau further underscores the complexity of the situation.[13] Here, normally, given the mature and expansive Indus culture stimuli, the script should have caught on to be implicated into the day to day usage as an instrument or basic equipment in public transactions, which had not happened.

What we know or seem to know is that the ethnic structure of the 'new' society after the close of the 2nd millennium B. C. had been contradistinctive from that of the antecedent period, and was already in the throes of such a change in the entire second half of the 2nd millennium B. C. It is against these that we should consider the geo-political developments of the age between c. 1500 and c. 1000 B. C. in which perhaps the greatest single event of first magnitude was the so called 'Bharata war.'[14] We have no desire to meander through this nebulous stage but we would like to stress that Harappan script context was a matter purely of its own materialistic requirements and no single group nor a whole society was exclusively involved in it. It was perhaps certain autonomous trade agencies that carried forward the scriptal traditions from out of the texonymic phonetic system

prevailing already in West Asia and tailored it to its own spoken vocabulary deliberately. That such a vocabulary could and indeed should have been cosmopolitan and not weighed in favour of the usages of any single community group may be a viable premise. That it was during the prelude and processes of the second urbanisation that it redefined it organically is also an admissible thesis. We may compare it to the rise of the Hellenist city-State culture from the 9th century B.C. onwards, which was preceded by the prolonged dark period which was a sequel to the catastrophic end of the Aegean civilization and was so dark that the Minoan systems of writing had fallen out of use and the literate Greek-speaking world did not revive the Minoan syllabaries but adopted the Phoenician alphabet.[15] Such a paradigm could have existed in India and need not have been the linguistic possession on one single ethnic group but an admixture of indigenous and other strains whose linguistic usages could have become quite familiar in the post-Indus society. One does indeed feel emboldened to say that if the Indus civilization could have had the linguistic 'Aryan' and linguistic 'Dravidian' in their ethnic mosaic, the script itself could well have been the fusion or admixture of both, which is another way of saying that the Indus citizen might have been bilingual himself, of necessity and no ethnic barrier would have existed in this regard. We may, therefore, plead for a truce between the pro and the antistands in the decipherment of the Indus script; and future scientific research, I am sure, will show it as a dichotemised structure in speech and script.

Thus we are advisedly on more scientific grounds if we separated material cultural remains (which displays a static uniformity in its artefactual assemblage and presents the life-style), from the script which is an explosion and a running-maid to a socio-economic requirement and would not guarantee universal literacy for the whole society. Also, we have not yet been able to detect aberrant cultural traits in the artefactual assemblage to invest them with ethnic values, as would be shown by the cranial remains. A componental analysis of the artefactual remains in a site like Kālibangan is overdue, relating the cultural differentiae vertically and horizontally.

Even of the script itself, granted we are unable yet to link the material culture with the linguistic stems of the script, statistical and computer-aided analysis[16] of the structure and orthography of the script passages becomes inescapable. The latest, in addition to those of the Russian, Finnish, etc., is that of Raman[17] which is a deliberate preliminary exercise in this direction. We may try to relate them only to the stages between the early and mature phases, but should not subject them to a linguistic straitjacket with a post-Harappan situation.

On the basis of ideographic symbol converted into a syllabury as done in his attempts by Mahadevan,[18] earlier to his recent seeming *volte-face* from a proto-Dravidian origin for these instead of the Indo-Aryan (specifically Vedic Sanskrit), Ramesh[19] has, quite enthusiastically, bruited the greater eligibility of Vedic passages being likely to give clues to the

import of the script and apparently to his own best but limited satisfaction, felt that most independent as well as conjunct symbols can be convincingly related to Vedic words and phrases, but had doubt if all the Indus symbols on seal or sealing can yield an interpretation which will exactly correspond to any of the available Vedic passages. As we have seen, to select a range of linguistic vocabulary and evolve a script consonance for its letters (on pre-existing extra-Indian script parallels, as Rao[20] did, or for outright Vedic phrases or passages as Ramesh was attempting) would clearly be fitting the script to preconceived linguistic straitjacket. The Soviet and the Finnish scholar's attempts towards finding the structure and the syntax of the Indus script usages (a treatment that Raman also considers necessary) by computer analysis is to a degree more tenable methodologically since the results of the analysis can be accepted, rejected or improved upon. The fact of the matter would still be that one has to be sure as to which among the Indus city communities had been most familiar with and were employing the script for the purpose of the seals, etc., or in other words what is the total range of function of both the seal script, the figures on them and the usage, quite apart from the minimum known context of trade for them. For, if we admit that traders were using these, Vedic Sanskrit and its applications for them would be out of court. And if so and for the nonce, if we presume that the other possible distinctive ethnic group, namely the proto-Dravidian speaking people had actually been using the seals, we have to prove that they were traders, in which case, it will leave still the problem of who were the leaders of the Indus cities open, unless the traders were themselves the leaders and were having other groups on their band-wagon for authoring the engraved figure part of the seals. By saying that the script might be affiliated to the Indo-Aryan stem of usage, one would indeed be committing a firm presence of Vedic religion in the Indus city, for which the material evidence, at present, even including the much harassed 'Paśupati seal' does not offer any identifiable *varia* of evidence. This script, while still bestowing literacy to the Indus community or a part thereof, does not have the same historiographic and archival import that, for instance, the Summerian Cuneiform or the Egyptian Hieroglyphics did. If the disappearance of the Indus script in the late Harappan stage itself, for all intents and purposes, were to be given its weightage that appears due for it, particularly in the subsequent story of our national script tradition, it would be safer to posit that the cessation of any worthwhile external or even busy internal trade growth after the heyday of the Harappan city culture was an environmental compulsion and in much the same way as the Aryo-Dravidian ethnic fusion was the natural avenue for potent survival of the socio-cultural ***ethos*** of the late Vedic Aryans, and the scriptal usage also had implied hybridisations,[21] and common vocabulary, to some degree, also was part of it, the collective benefit of the entire society was promoted by this, and the mingling of trade usage with sea-

engravings for heraldic group identity was also feasible. All this would underscore that systematization of the *socio-cultural* premises for seal use and engraving motivation should receive priority, by archaeological data analysis, over fishing expeditions in the troubled waters of a mere linguistic framework. 'What' should have precedence over 'Who', in respect of the seal-sealing artefacts.

Now I move to the historical stages where epigraphy has already come into its own and give typical situations where the inter-relationship of epigraphy and archaeology is typically displayed Though independent disciplines, these two, owing to their minimum common grounds in being authentic and concrete creations of man and with deliberate intentions behind them and contemporaneity to the situations they pertain to, are closely identifiable with the authors, as a group or community in the case of archaeology and with individual patron or scribe, and more often precisely dated to the actual occurrence of the event, in the case of epigraphy.

Epigraphs in such contexts serve as the handmaids of literature and history (including art history) providing credibility for oral traditions, and often introduce as well as solve problems which otherwise are liable to be controversial. We would like to detail some interesting examples of this laison, each of which has a distinctive socio-cultural significance.

It is to be clearly seen that as long as a region makes great cultural strides, inter-relationship of contemporary evidence is bound to prove mutually beneficial, facilitating a better understanding of the cultural developments in the region. There is some highly circumstantial but specific manner in which a known *corpus* of literary evidence, belonging to a familiar cultural *milieu* of a region whose origins could not be dated by any sure means other than the inter-relationship of these material remains and the literary reference to these usages. We are referring to the great cluster of important *hero stone*[22] monuments found in recent decades in the area around Cheṅgam in North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu, the age range of the inscribed among which relates to c. 6th century to c. 10th century A. D. As regards the institution of these *hero-stones* and how far back they could go in the uninscribed among them, in this area which is very rich in this class of monuments, we have a spectacular confirmation from the literary tradition of the *Saṅgam* lore of the early Tamil society. One of the important works of truly Saṅgam vintage is *Malai-paḍu-kaḍām*[23] whose scenario and descriptions are located just in this Cheṅgam area and which describes profusely and graphically the presence of *hero-stones* in the country-side here. By this consonance, it is patent that the *hero-stones* of this zone, in the manner seen now, should have been *seen actually by bards who composed this Saṅgam work* and thus should antedate the work itself. This situation helps particularly in giving a realistic terminal date at least to this Saṅgam work, as around the 5th century, and by that token, reinforces, the basic hypothesis of sober scholars of the Saṅgam literature on the age range of this anthology which forms the bed-rock of historical evidence for early Tamil society. This date

range is taken from the 2nd century to the 5th century A. D. As we have the provenance of the Tamil-Brāhmī script alone from about the 3rd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D., and as certain Vaṭṭeḻuttu transformations appear to take place from the 4th century and most of the earlier among the inscribed *hero-stones* of the Cheṅgam area are seen to be in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters,[24] and a certain collateral evidence of a hoard of post-Śātavāhana lead coins from Āṇḍipaṭṭi[25] in the same Cheṅgam area, by its inscribed legend on the coins reading probably as *'Tiṇṇaṇ edir-āṇa Chēṇḍaṇ'*, places itself in the transitional script stages and as there had been both a Naṇṇaṇ and Chēṇḍaṇ known from Saṅgam literature and tradition, we are well persuaded to fix the date of *Malai-paḍu-kaḍām*, work of the Saṅgam anthology as c. 5th century A. D., thus, a direct correlation between a prestigeous literary heritage of the Tamils and the material vestiges around the same age stand attested to and mutually correlated, giving a break through for the historiographic credibility of the early Tamil literary heritage and its supportive culture, where the voice of epigraphy and the voice of the material remains prevail in unison, for historical reconstruction.

Elsewhere in India, to take another culture situation, archaeological evidence found in the area of the Nepalese Tarai, on either side of the Indo-Nepalese border and in the Basti district of Eastern Uttar Pradesh on the Indian side, had not for long been able to clinch the firm basis for locating which among the towns excavated in this region would answer to the requirement of the location of Kapilavastu,[26] from where Śuddhōdana, father of Gautama Buddha ruled, which on Chinese evidence was reasonably close to Lumbini, of the Śākyas and the place of the mother of the Buddha, namely Māyādēvī and where indeed as we know, she gave birth to Gautama. The evidence, ultimately, of excavations of the Piprahwa-Ganvaria site complex by the Archaeological Survey of India that yielded in the form of several clay tablets from one of its *vihāra* sites carrying the significant inscribed label, namely, '*Dēva-putra-vihāre Kapilavastu-bhikshu-sanghasya*' established that this site of Piprahwa was the Kapilavastu of yore. Here, epigraphy became the mouthpiece of archaeological data and revealed, at one stroke, the answer to a long contended issue.

Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi[27] in Ramnad district of Tamil Nadu, near Kāraikuḍi, in one of the famous Pāṇḍyan rock-cut caves, whose north facing important niche (in the front *maṇḍapa* of the otherwise east facing sanctum) through a prominent and impressive Gaṇēśa niche-sculpture, gave the village itself its name, as originally the cave temple without the many front side additional structural *maṇḍapas* of the medieval times, would have displayed the Gaṇēśa sculpture directly to any visitor. A *prima facie* presumption on this score can be that the village going by this present name should have come up at a date subsequent to the excavation of the cave temple. This situation is rendered even more piquant by the occurrence of a brief inscribed record on the *finished* stone surface of the side wall near its entrance into the rock-cut part. The record reads something like *'Erukāṭṭūrkkōṇ peru Paraṇaṇ'* though the first word is liable, according to some, as *Īkkāṭṭūru*.

In any event, by the occurrence of the record on a rock–cut part of the monument, the clear deduction should have been that the cave temple preceded the inscribed record. Apparently on the supposed palaeography of the record, some scholars were inclined to date the cave temple to the 5th century A. D. and building on this basis, went as far as to declare that this would make this cave temple the earliest example of the Brahmanical cave art in the whole of the South India. But there is no question, even otherwise, of this cave temple being so early, as it is a part of a series of rock-cut temples excavated by the early Pāṇḍyas in this tract of which there are three more within a few miles of Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi at Kuṉṉakuḍi, not to mention eight more around Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas of the same age and ilk. Here, epigraphy is liable to be overplayed and might be misleading, if not considered in concert with the architectural evidence of the man-made monument. The caution is that the script of an inscribed record may at times represent a lingering and static form of one of the script sub-varieties here at Piḷḷayārpaṭṭi, a Vaṭṭeḻuttu usage, of a local form and is part of the local situation and should not be taken as the exclusive evidence or should not be studied shorn of its own context of the *surface* upon which it is engraved. A similar mistake was committed elsewhere, again in Tamil Nadu, at Pulāṅkuṟichi [28] in the same Ramnad district, where the long and admittedly important record datable to the 5th-6th century A D. as somewhat over enthusiastically assigned to the 3rd century taking the date of the record which was furnished, without the era specified, as liable to be reckoned in Śaka era without warrant, and considering the record as unique and earliest reference to the functioning of village administration in the Saṅgam period of Tamil Nadu. Here again, epigraphy trips those who might not give full consideration to the vicissitudes of script, orthography and context, but basically authentic still if its signals are read aright.

The use of several media or material for engraving records such as stone, wood and metal gives an insight into their co-eval craft development. Similarly, the continuance of two scriptal traditions of the same age at the same site may give rise to a queer situation in the assessment of script provenance though it has its own significant revelations. As an example, one may cite the occurrence of Tamil-Brāhmī label records on pottery at Arikamēḍu,[29] along with instances of the northern contemporary variety of script for Sanskrit usage. Of course, it would lead to the surmise that in this trade out-post of the Indo-Roman mart, both Tamil people and Sanskrit-using men from northern India were hobnobbing with each other, besides the Romans. Such a situation, deliberately created, is also to be seen at Mahābalipuram in the cave temple excavated by Narasimhavarman II, Rājasimha, and given the name of Atiraṇachaṇḍa-maṇḍapam.[30] Here, the same record is transcribed in both the *Pallava Grantha* and upper Indian *Siddhamātrika* script forms, on either of the side walls of the facade of this cave temple. This was seemingly a gesture of solicitude of the king to the varying men of his realm

who, though using Sanskrit, were writing the *same* in differing scriptal forms in the *same* period.

Sometimes, inscriptions help inter-locked, or may we say, even dead-locked situations between material remains and *quondam* architectural contexts. The typical example had been afforded by the presence of rock-cut reclining Vishṇu carving, sandwiched between the smaller and the larger of the two Shore temples at Mahābalipuram, both of which were erected by Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha for Śiva, while the Vishṇu carving was a pre-existing creation of an earlier king, probably Narasimhavarman Māmalla. Despite vestigial evidence for these twin contexts the fact that the earlier position was well preceding the latter could not be clinched, not with-standing a fortuitous literary evidence of *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin recalling the traditional account of a clever sculptor having mended a broken arm of the Vishṇu image here. The ambiguity could be finally cleared by a copper plate grant[31] of a still later Pallava king, Nṛipatuṅga, which specifically referred to Māmalla having erected a reclining Vishṇu temple here on the brink of the sea (*Yaś=śayyā- gṛiham= asmābhir=jalanidhau chakrē mahach= chakriṇah*). Here epigraphy vicariously and posthumously bales out vestigeal archaeological evidence and clears an art historical tangle.

Epigraphy sometimes helps us in reading between the lines in a historical situation where a contemporary record chooses to by-pass it. We are referring to the famous record of Maṅgalēśa in the cave No. 3 at Bādāmi which is quoted in the 'augmenting victorial regnal year' of his reigning elder brother Kīrtivarman, but at the same time, in the body of the record, mentions the significant ritual of *Nārāyaṇa bali*[32] which is performed when a person is either dead or his whereabouts are unknown and he was to be taken as dead. The seeming intention of the record, if we are to read history at this juncture at the Chalukyan capital aright shows that Maṅgalēśa was cleverly manoeuvring to capture the throne for himself after Kīrtivarman is removed from the scene, and to prevent young Pulakēśi II from claiming successor rights. Hence the oozing words of praise about the qualities of head and heart of Kīritivaman to lull the people into a support for his moves. The art historian is the beneficiary in this process, who can still sense it by the overprofessions of a clever royal claimant, as ambitious as Maṅgalēśa, trying to baulk the brave and enterprising Pulakēśin II who certainly got the better of the former, in the final count, but only after posterity had been gifted with a marvellous architectural creation and speciously but eloquently worded record.

Epigraphical records found in the vicinity of notable monuments but out of context and referring themselves of temples in the same place which, however do not exist today, have their own valuable implication on the changes in the cult scene when an illustious and resourceful ruler blazes his unique trail overshadowing many earlier events of note. An excellent example of this phenomenon is the set of refences to '*Tañjai-taḷikkuḷattān*'[33] which recall the sacred temple for Śiva, close to a tank

by the side of Bṛihadīśvara temple, the *magnum opus* of Rāja Rāja's exemplary religious patronage and art imagination. We know that the *Taḷikkuḷattān* temple at Tañjāvūr had been sung in the hymnals of Saint Sambandar (who had adorned the end of the 7th century A. D. and was extolled spicily as the *'Draviḍa-śiśu'* by Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda, for having been a child prodigy in his spiritual achievements). The fragmentary records referring to this *Taḷikkuḷattān temple* seem to continue into the 12th century and later, but no vistiges of it even have survived. What could be the reason for this seeming disregard for a sacred early temple, in the very premises of the great temple built by such an unqualified devotee of Śiva ? The reason may only be conjectured. It can be that this earlier temple suffered a disappearance, having been an *Āgamic*--oriented one, when the avalanche of Mahēśvara brand of Śaivism was sedulously fostered under Rāja Rāja I, and the additional cause for its struggling till upto two centuries later to disappear thereafter, can be that it was a casualty of the layout of the Śivagaṅgā tank, on whose bank it seemingly stood An unknown page of great socio-religious import had been revealed by the fragmentary records referring to this temple found in recent years from the very court-yard of the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr.

Epigraphy, thus, plays a complementary role with archaeology and material remains, and by dealing with epigraphical records in isolation as a mere exercise on the table, instead of on the ground, a social enquiry into cultural history is defeated, and may sometimes affect the very credibility of the documentations of the times.

Friends, may I now be permitted to offer some remarks on the condition of epigraphical research in India today. It does not require any special ingenuity to suggest that this research demands a very sound basic concert with adequate knowledge of the great linguistic stems of India, the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian not to mention the Semetic languages which had been of such great significance in Asia. This also involves access to the mechanics of linguistic growth. A high calibre academic potential is also called for in the research and publication of epigraphs. It is a truism to state that such a potential is not lacking in our country which can boast of magnificent literary legacies and traditions in all these languages. Then, what ails this important discipline of epigraphy? Firstly, the difficulties in talent-scouting of the right type Traditional scholars in this regard, have indeed been given a step-motherly treatment, inasmuch as they often might not be meeting official educational requirements for job recruitment. It is likely that, in due course, we may not be in a position even to secure them. That the Government is aware of this plight is obvious from the steps envisaged for inducting traditional scholars by providing monetary fellowship assistance for getting acclimatised and involved in the tasks related to epigraphical research. Secondly, even official Epigraphy cannot claim emolument scales commensurate either with the arduous and complicated nature of their duties, or the enormous volume of work pending fulfilment. It

may even be said that the extra-Indian scholars working on Indian epigraphical material are more adventitiously placed than their Indian counterparts who keep the primary documentational resources of this discipline, only to be conveniently availed of by these authors. Steps to be taken for mitigating the lot of epigraphical scholars and for finding appropriate practical and concrete steps for clearing the voluminous work that awaits disposal will be not a day too late. Thirdly, technical equipment of modern kind in the methodological and analytical programmes for this discipline is at present awefully absent, and unless easy and continuing direct liaison and coordination exists, *within the framework of the Epigraphical organisation of the Government*, for linguistic research directly and functionally relevant for Epigraphical research, the situation cannot be redressed. Let us hope that steps which will lead to the Epigraphical research being raised to the status of an independent organisation or of a national status as an *Epigraphical Survey of India*, with all the machinery for meaningful research, will emerge.

Dear colleagues, before I wind up my address, may I have the privilege of stating that the disciplines of epigraphy and palaeography are among the subtlest techniques for unravalling the mysteries of our written legacies, in which there should indeed be a *consortium of scholarship*, in both the Government and outside in our universities which are our present and future hope for fundamental thinking and systematic pursuit in the academic studies of our past. Several bands of scholars of ancillary fields should have access to one another's wisdom and research. This alone will enable the common man to receive the requisite inspiration and motivation for appreciating the integrated and composite character of linguistic and epigraphical research in a multilingual country like ours.

I heartily thank you for having given an indulgent hearing to my somewhat rambling academic and professional thoughts. May *Bhāratī* or *Vāgdēvī*, in the form of the written word (*akshara*) guide our intellectual destinies in this sublime pursuit of Epigraphy in future years!

'Idam=andhaṁ tamaḥ kritsnaṁ jāyēta bhuvana-trayam
Yadi Śabd-āhvayam jyōtir=āsaṁsāraṁ na dīpyatē'[34]

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1 THALNER PLATES OF VAKATAKA HARISHENA : A RE-APPRAISAL

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The set of three rectangular plates bearing this charter was acquired by a copper-merchant of Dhuḷe, headquarters of the district of the same name in Maharashtra, from a resident of the village of Thāḷner (ancient Sthālaka-nagara) in the same district. There are strong reasons to believe that the plates were actually found at and were probably issued from the same place even though it is not specified as the place of issue in the record. The inscription has been edited by D. R. Bhat[1] and V. V. Mirashi.[2] In view of the great value of this charter and our disagreement with the last mentioned celebrity in important matters, we propose to offer some observations here.

Like most other Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants, the present record is also incised on the inner sides of the first and the last plates and on both sides of the middle plate. But whereas all the other hitherto known inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas with the solitary exception of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā are inscribed in the box-headed characters of the Southern variety of Brāhmī, the characters of the present charter are characterised by round knobs scooped out hollow instead of the usual boxes, a characteristic noticed in some inscriptions found in the neighbouring Nasik District. The language is Sanskrit, but for a couple of imprecatory stanzes towards the end, the record is composed in prose. The plates are held together by a ring, but the seal attached to it is missing.

The inscription belongs to Harishēṇa, the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas, and is his only known official record[3] and chronologically the second extant complete copper-plate charter of this branch.[4] Its object is to record Harishēṇa's donation of a couple of villages to the brāhmaṇas Dēvasvāmin, Gaṅgasvāmin, Varāhasvāmin, Bhaṭṭārasvāmin, Khūḍasvāmin, Dharasvāmin and others who were students of the Chhandōga or *Samāvēda* and belonged to the Padañchala-*gōtra*. The gift villages and piece of land in other villages are specified as follows : (i) Bhaṭṭikāpadra to the east of Jātīkkhēṭaka and west of Vaṭālikā ; (ii) Kumāradāsavāṭaka on the southern bank of the river Mayasiṇī in Vaṁśīvahalī and situated to the east of Chchhabilānaka and west of Bōdrakānaka ; (iii) 20 or 20 1/2 [5] *nivartanas*[6] of land in the village called Kaṁsakāra-grāma included in the *bhukti* or district of Ānarttapura ; (iv) a plot of land measuring 201/2 [7] *nivartanas* in the village Suvarṇṇakāra-grāma ; and (v) a piece of land of the same size in the village of Gōvachchhataṭī. Some of these villages have been located satisfactorily in the region round Thāḷner, the provenance of the charter, in the Dhuḷe District.

Like most other copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas[8] the present charter commences with the genealogical account, preceded only by the auspicious words *siddham* and svasti.[2] However, this portion differs from its counterparts in other epigraphs both

in regard to contents and nature. All the other official records with only a single exception[10] begin this account with Pravarasēna I, the second member of the dynasty, and for information about his father, Vindhyaśakti I, one had so far to depend entirely on the historical accounts met with in some of the Purāṇas and the inscription of Varāhadēva, a minister of Harishēṇa, in Cave XVI at Ajanta.[11] The Thāḷner plates, however, commence their dynastic account with Vindhyaśakti I who is described as the first *(ādi)dharmma-mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas.[12] It looks as if though, Vindhyaśakti, the progenitor of the family, who was forgotten or ignored by all the earlier members of both the branches of the family, whose records are available to us, was all of a sudden remembered reverentially, for some reason which cannot be ascertained, during the reign of the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch. Next we find the description of Pravarasēnā I. However, thereafter it takes a wide leap passes over several members of the Vatsagulama branch including Sarvasēna I,[13] its founder, and his son Vindhyaśakti II, who is known from his Wasim plates which, for the first time, brought this branch of the dynasty to light.[14] In a stranger manner, as if in great haste, it refers to Harishēṇa, the grantor, as the great-grandson of the grandson of the son of Pravarasēna I, grandson of Sarvvasēna and son of Dēvasēna. This description is in full conformity with the genealogy reconstructed on the basis of the combined evidence of the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II and the Ajanta Cave XVI inscription of Harishēṇa's minister, Varāhadēva. The present inscription adds to our knowledge by supplying the name of the father of Dēvasēna which is omitted in the latter's India Office plate and is damaged in the aforesaid Ajanta inscription. It is Sarvvasēna who may be designated as Sarvvasēna II with a view to destinguish him from that of the founder of the line which should accordingly be called Sarvvasēna I. It may be of some interest to note that the title *Dharmmamahārāja* and Hāritīputra, both of which were particularly popular among the ruling families of the Deccan and South India, are found employed only for Pravarasēna I, the second and, for that matter, the greatest member of the dynasty, whereas his father Vindhyaśakti I, who is first mentioned in this record, is given only the former title. All the remaining monarchs mentioned in the record including the donor, Harishēṇa, are styled simply *Mahārāja*. The Basim plates[15] also reserve the epithet *Hāritīputra* only for Pravarasēna I; however, the title *Dharmmamahārāja*, which is used for his son Sarvvasēna I and grandson Vindhyaśakti II, is denied to him, maybe due to oversight or, more probably, because the superior title *samrāṭ*, which is employed only for him in most of the charters of both the branches of the dynasty,[16] was thought to be enough. In any case, it is apparent that in the official records of this branch, which care to give the family history,[17] the epithet *Hāritīputra* is applied to Pravarasēna I alone and the other style, *Dharmmamahārāja*, to him as well as the members of this branch, *viz.*, Sarvvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II. In the absence of necessary evidence this difference cannot be explained satisfactorily. Let us hope future discoveries will shed more light on this problem.

The grant communicated through this charter is stated to have been made with the permission of a certain Gōmikarāja (*Gōmikarāj-ānujñātam*) about whose identity we have absolutely no information either from this or from any other record. According to Mirashi, he was the local chief of the Dhuḷe or West Khandesh region with Thāḷner as his capital and owing allegiance to the Traikūṭakas. It has been suggested that he was completely vanquished by and submitted to Harishēṇa who launched on a campaign of victory and vengeance against the Traikūṭakas who had occupied a portion of the territory under the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas on the western boundary of Vidarbha. It is assumed that in the course of this expedition he defeated Gōmikarāja but did not annex the territory under him. And as the donated villages were situated in the vanquished enemy's kingdom, he thought it necessary to formally obtain his new vassal's permission as recorded in these plates. Unfortunately, however, there is absolutely no evidence to support the suggested historical reconstruction. The theory of the Traikūṭaka occupation of a part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom is based solely on the discovery of a few silver coins of Traikūṭaka Dahrasēna in a small hoard at the village of Dahigaon in the Malkapur Taluka of the Buldana District.[18] However, while only ten coins belong to Dahrasēna, the remaining twenty-six coins in the hoard are of the western Kshatrapas including Saṅghadāman, Vijayasēna, Dāmajadaśrī, Bhartṛidāman, Viśvasēna and Ṛudrasiṁna II or Rudrasēna III. Therefore, if the inclusion of only ten coins of Dahrasēna is construed to indicate his occupation of the area in which the hoard has been found, the same line of argument should lead us to the theory of prolonged Kshatrapa occupation of the same region. Moreover, we know that a large number of Kshatrapa silver coins both as stray finds and in hoards have been found in the whole of the Vākāṭaka kingdom from time to time and quite a few of them have been published by Mirashi himself, but they have not been taken as an evidence of Kshatrapa rule in the area in question.[19] This underlines the need for exercising utmost restraint and caution while using the evidence of the provenance of coins for historical purposes. Hoards of coins, particularly of precious metals like silver and gold which might have been valued as an item of wealth, may be, and have quite often been, found in regions far away from the area of their circulation and are of no use for historical purposes except indicating the value attached to them. Large hoards of Kshatrapa silver coins have, for example, been found in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra at places far removed from Gujarat and Mālwa where Kshatrapas ruled, but the same cannot evidence Kshatrapa rule in those areas. These evidently were carried away and buried underground as treasures by their owners. The provenance evidence attains historical value only if coins are reported frequently in hoards and more specially as stray finds. It is thus obvious that the discovery of a single small lot of coins of Dahrasēna cannot by itself sustain the theory of the Traikūṭaka occupation of a part of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and Harishēṇa's counter-attack on the Traikūṭakas.[20] Furthermore, while Harishēṇa's occupation of the Thāḷner region or, in case of its occupation

by one of his ancestors, its retention by him cannot be gainsaid,[21] there is absolutely no indication in our record that the grant in question was made immediately after his conquest of Thāḷner, as has been surmised. And but for the name-ending *rāja*, which cannot by itself be taken as an indubitable indication of the regal status, there is nothing to warrant the conjecture that Gōmikarāja, with whose consent or permission the grant was made, was a ruling chief, much less that he was the vanquished monarch of Thāḷner. It is difficult to believe that the conqueror would ever feel it necessary to seek, much less to record it in a public document, his vanquished enemy's or vassal's permission to grant land in the latter's territory. At least, to our knowledge, there is no such instance on record. An exactly parallel expression occurs in the Malhāra plates of the Muṇḍaputra king Ādityarāja which are stated to have been given at the behest of Yajñarāja (*Yajñarāj-ānujñātam*),[22] who appears to have been an elderly member of the same family or an otherwise respectable personage. The same may have been the case with Gōmikarāja as well. Alternatively, it is not impossible that the composer of the record erroneously employed the word *anujñāta* instead of *prārthanayā* and that the charter was in fact given at the entreaty of Gōmikarāja. However, this, it must be admitted, looks less likely.

We may allude, *en passim*, to a couple of copper-plate charters of the Kumbhakarṇa chief Bhānushēṇa of Sthālakanagara (or Sthalīnagara, modern Thāḷner)[23] found at Thāḷner because Mirashi refers to them in connection with Harishēṇa's assumed victory over Gōmikarāja, the supposed vassal of the Traikūṭakas. These records, which mention four predecessors of Bhānushēṇa all of whom are styled *Mahārāja*, are dated only with reference to the issuer's reign and mention no known reckoning. However, on palaeographical grounds Moreshwar G. Dikshit placed them in the 6th-7th century A.D.[24] Mirashi, however, assigns them to a much earlier period without adducing any reason and feels that Bhānushēṇa, the last known member of the family, was overthrown by the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna (*circa* 440-465 A.D.). As we have seen above, we have absolutely no evidence in support of the Traikūṭaka invasion of the Thāḷner region. Further, we are inclined to opine that the date proposed by Dikshit is fairly reliable and finds support from the internal evidnce as well and that the Kumbhakarṇa chiefs ruled over the west Khandesh region after the end of Harishēṇa's rule.[24]

The charter was registered (*nibaddha*) on the twelfth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season in the third year of Harishēṇa's reign. The employment of this mode of dating with reference to seasons, coupled with similar dates in a couple of copper-plate grants of Pṛithivīshēṇa II, the last known member of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vākāṭakas, found in the excavations at Māṇḍhaḷ, about 75 kms from Nagpur in the Nagpur District, indicates its popularity till about the close of the fifth century A.D. The present record furnishes the latest known example of the use of this system.

The *dūtaka*[26] or executor of the charter was Svāmiladēva about whom no information is given. But we know of

another personage named Svāmilladēva who, according to the Hisse Borala inscription, was an officer under Harishēṇa's father Dēvasēna and had a tank named Sudarśana excavated in Śaka 380.[27] As our record was issued shortly after Harishēṇa's accession, its *dūtaka* may be reasonably identified with Svāmilladēva.[28] Likewise, Bōppadēva, the writer of this inscription, was in all probability the same as Bappa mentioned as the *karmōpadēshṭṛi* or overseer of the work in the Hisse Borala inscription. It is interesting to note that both these persons are mentioned together in both the inscriptions belonging to two consequtive generations, and we may reasonably conclude that they served the last two generations of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas.

Notes :

1. *Saṁśōdhaka* (Marathi Journal of the Rājwāḍa Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍaḷa). Vol. xlvii, 1980. nos. 1-2.
2. *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I, Nagpur, 1982, pp. 78-87.
3. The Ajanta and Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscriptions of his time belong to his officials and vassals and record their own charities.
4. Wasim grant of Vindhyaśakti II is the only other complete charter, the India Office grant of Harishēṇa's father Dēvasēna being incomplete.
5. The relevant portion in the text reads *viṁśati arddhaviṁśati* which fails to yield a satisfactory meaning. It seems that, as in other cases that follow, *arddhaviṁśatiḥ* was intended here as well : but by oversight the scribe first wrote *viṁśati* and thereafter, realising his error, the intended word, *arddhaviṁśati*, but, again by oversight, forgot to cancel *viṁśati*. *Arddhaviṁśati*, in this as well as in other subsequent cases, is a mistake for *sārddhaviṁśati*.
6. Though not specified, this was a common measurement obtaining under the Vākāṭakas as we know from several copper-plate grants of the dynasty. The same appears to have been intended here also.
7. According to Mirashi, the expression *arddhaviṁśati* should be taken to mean 'half of twenty' (*Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I, p. 80). *viz.*, 10. However, if this were the intended meaning' we should have expected *daśa* or, less justifiably, *viṁśaty-arddha*. As pointed out earlier, the intended reading probably is *sārddhaviṁśatiḥ*. Mirashi is also of the same opinion but takes the restored expression in the sense of 30 (*ibid.*, p. 80, fn. 5), which does not appear to be correct.
8. The India Office plate of Dēvasēna (*CII*, Vol. v, p. 102), which begins with a reference to the grantor himself (Dēvasēna) without naming any of his predecessors, forms the only known exception.
9. The word *dṛishṭam*, which serves as a means of authentication and is found at the beginning of most of the copper-plate charters, is missing.
10. *I. e.*, India Office plate of Dēvasēna.
11. *CII*, vol. v, p. 107, verse 2.

12. The relevant portion of the text reads *Vākāṭakānām= ādi-dharmmamahārāja-śrī-Vindhyaśaktēḥ* which Mirashi proposes to restore as *Vākāṭakānām =ādir= dharmmamahārāja - śrī-Vindhyaśaktēḥ* which is totally unwarranted, for even without any alteration the phrase gives good meaning. Alternatively, if at all we have to break the compound and make it simpler, we must better restore it as *Vākāṭakānām= ādēr= dharmmamahārājasya śrī-Vindhyaśaktēḥ*, the following *syā* being restorable as *a*. And if we wish to observe *sandhi* rules, we should restore as *-śaktēr= agnishṭōmā-*.

13. Earlier only this Sarvvasēna was known; but now that another later member of this line has come to be known from the present record, he must be called Sarvasēna I in order to distinguish him from his later namesake.

14. *CII*, vol. v, pp. 93-100. An account of this branch was also given in Varāhadēva's inscription at Ajanta, but owing to bad condition of that inscription the identity of this branch was not established earlier.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 96, text-line 3.

16. Barring only the records of Prabhāvatigupta which give the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas and Dēvasēna's India Office plate which altogether omits genealogy.

17. *I. e.*, the Basim plates of Vindhyaśakti II and Thāḷner grant of Harishēna.

18. V. V. Mirashi, *JNSI*, vol. XXXV, pp. 118-122 ; *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 180-184.

19. For references, see *ibid.*, p. 180, fn. 1.

20. We have examined this question at length in *Numismatic Digest*, vol. I (i), pp. 26-28 ; iii (i), pp. 6-8.

21. As the plates in question were issued shortly after Harishēṇa's accession (in the third regnal year), the second alternative looks more plausible.

22. *JESI*, vol. iv, p. 38, text-line 31. Also see p. 37.

23. *EI*, vol. XXXVIII, pp. 69-75.

24. We are discussing this problem in detail elsewhere.

26. For its meaning, see D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi, 1966, pp. 103-104, s. v. *dūtaka*.

27. *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, Nagpur, 1965, p. 384.

28. The slight difference of spelling in this case as well as that of the name of the writer is of no significance.

2 TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SIYAMANGALAM

P. Venkatesan

The two inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist were discovered in the hill, opposite to the rock-cut temple of Pallava Mahēndravarman in the village. Of the two inscriptions, which for the sake of convenience can be designated as 'A'[1] and 'B'[2], 'A' is engraved in a cave on the top of the hill. This epigraph is important as it reveals the date and the name of the king during whose period, the Jaina temples at Śīyamaṅgalam were established. The inscription is in Grantha characters and Sanskrit language. The characters can be compared to those of Vaḷḷimalai inscription[3] of Rājamalla as for instance the letter *k*, *m*, *ś*, and *r* are quite identical. The writing is in a good state of preservation and there are in all eight lines of writing.

The inscription is partly in prose and partly in poetry. The prose passage begins with the auspicious word *svasti* occuring before the commencement of the second verse in line five. The poetry portion contains two verses in *Anushṭubh* metre. At the top of the inscription, there is a figure of an umbrella, which is a symbol of Jaina religion. Below this inscription, there is an ornamental design which looks like a richly carved tier flanked on either side by two lines. The first verse describes *Aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya* which was adorned by illustrious pontiffs, who had successfully crossed the vast expanse of the sea of knowledge of all sciences (*niśśēsha-śāstra-vārāśi-pāragaiḥ*), thereby meaning that they were proficient in all *śāstras*. *Aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya* figures in a number of Jaina inscriptions in Karnataka also.[4] This *Aruṅkaḷ - ānvaya* is stated to belong to *Nandi - Saṅgha*, in *Jinēndra Saṅgha.* According to Jaina religion an *anvaya* is normally described as belonging to only one *Saṅgha.*

In the second verse that follows, it is recorded that Rājamalla established two temples (*nivēśanaṁ*) for Jinarāja at Vijayādri in Śaka 815 (892-93 A.D.) expressed by the chronogram *Śakābdam.*[5] This inscription does not supply any information regarding the identity of Rājamalla. It is a point to be noted that in the present record Rājamalla is not endowed with any regal titles which may probably be due to the exigencies of the metre. Attention may be drawn in this connection to another inscription[6] from Vaḷḷimalai in the same North Arcot District, engraved in Grantha characters and Kannaḍa language belonging to the same 9th century A. D., wherein one king Rājamalla described as the son of Raṇavikrama, the grandson of Śrīpurusha and great grandson of Śivamāra is stated to have laid the foundation of a Jaina shrine (*vasati*). Judging from the provenance of the two inscriptions, both of them being situated in North Arcot District as well as their contemporanity and similiarity in their purport, it is tempting to identify Rājamalla, the donor of the

inscription under study with his namesake of the Vaḷḷimalai inscription. If this identification is accepted, then it will go to prove, that probably a portion of North Arcot District might have been under the control of the Western Gaṅga king Rājamalla for some time. He had built Jaina temples (*basatis*) in Vaḷḷimalai, Śiyamaṅgalam and established *chaturvēdi-maṅgalams*, one of which named after the donor king himself *viz.*, Rājamalla-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam, the name of which survived upto the 27th regnal year of Rājarāja I as gleaned from epigraphs[7]. This Rājamalla is otherwise known as Rājamalla II (Satyavākya) who is known to have reigned between 877-907 A. D. and his father Raṇavikramma mentioned in the Vaḷḷimalai inscription is no doubt identical with Nītimārga (Ereganga) who is known in inscriptions as Raṇavikrama. Rājamalla II, it may be noted, was a devout Jaina and at the same time he was also tolerant to other religions as exemplified by his various gifts to *brāhmaṇas*.

Vijayādri, where the two temples for God Jinarāja was established appears to be the ancient name of the hillock on which the two inscriptions under study are incised. The two Jaina temples might have been established in the natural cave itself which fact is futher corroborated by the flight of steps leading to it the construction of which is recorded, by the inscription 'B' discussed below. The cave however does not have at present any remnants of the once existing Jaina temples.

TEXT-'A'

1 Śrīmaj=Jinēndra-saṅghē='Smin

2 Nandi-saṅghē='sty-Aruṅkaḷaḥ [।*]

3 Anvayō bhāti niśśēsha-

4 Śāstra-vārāśi-pāragaiḥ [॥ 1* ॥]

5 Svasti [1*] Rājamalla iti sthāpya

6 Śakābdam yōjayēt budhaḥ [1*]

7 tat=dvayaṁ Jinarājasya

8 Vijayādri-nivēśanam [॥ 2* ॥]

INSCRIPTION - 'B'

Inscription 'B' is engraved on a rock at the foot of the hill from where the flight of steps lead to the cave on the top of hill, where inscription 'A' is engraved. It is in Grantha and Tamil characters and Sanskrit and Tamil languages. The characters are similar to those of the inscription 'A' discussed above and may be assigned to the same period. The inscription as that of 'A' is partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry portion is in Sanskrit while the prose portion is in Tamil excepting the auspicious word *śrī* at the beginning of the line 4

which however is in Sanskrit. The inscription is not dated. The scribe shows some carelessness in not following the *sandhi* as in line 6 in *ēta*[*t**] = *vād-ībha-siṁhasya*. The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by a verse in *Anushṭubh* metre extolling *Aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya* which is more or less similar to the first verse of inscription 'A', with the only difference that instead of *Jinēndra-saṅgha*, *Draviḷa-Saṅgha* is mentioned, to which belonged *Nandi-saṅgha* and *Aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya*. *Draviḷa* (*ḍa*)=*saṅgha* and *Drāviḍa-gaṇa* occur in a number of epigraphs from Karnataka.[8]

As against the inscription 'A', in the Sanskrit portion *Aruṁkaḷ - ānvaya* is stated to belong to *Nandi Saṅgha* in *Draviḷa-saṅgha*. In the prose passage that follows which is in Tamil language, it is recorded that Vajranandi-yōgīndrar, the disciple of Guṇavīradēvar who was the *maṇḍalāchārya* of *Śrī Aruṅkaḷ-ānvaya* caused to be constructed a flight of steps which survives even to this date intact. As already pointed out this will be one of the few Jaina epigraphs from Tamil Nadu where a Jaina monk and his disciple are mentioned along with their *saṅgha* and *anvaya*.[9] This is followed by a verse again in the same *anushṭubh* metre which prays for the perpetuity of the grant made by no less a person than Vajranandi-yōgīndrar referred to above, who was a lion to the elephant like disputants and who by his thunderbolt like argument cut asunder the mountain like bad religions.

TEXT 'B'

1 Svasti [1*] Śrīmad=Draviḷa-saṅghē='smin
2 Nandi-saṅghē='sty-Aruṅkaḷaḥ [1* Anvayō bhāti
3 Niśśēsha-śāstra-vārāśi-pāragaiḥ [॥ 1* ॥]
4 Śrī-Aruṅkaḷ-ānvayattu maṇḍala-āchāryar
5 Guṇavīradēvar śishyar Vajranandi-yōgīndrar
6 śeyvitta tiruppadaṇam [1*] Ētat[t*] vād-ībha-siṁhasya
7 Śāsanañ=jayatāch=chiram[1*] yasya syād-vāda-vajrēṇa nirbhinna[ḥ*] ku-mat-ādrayaḥ [॥ 2*॥]

Notes :

I am highly indebted to the Chief Epigraphist who has given permission for editing these two inscriptions and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer who guided me in the preparation of this paper.

1. This was copied by me during my tour in 1982. It is being included in the *ARIE.*, for 1982-83.
2. *A. R. No.* 227-A of 1901 ; Pub. in *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 441.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 15-A, pp. 140 ff.

4. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 76 (Notes).

5. The composer has intended Paranomasia in the use of the word *śakābdaṁ* by which not only the chronogram but also the era.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, No. 15-A, pp. 140 ff.

7. *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, part II para 8, p. 115.

8. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 76.

9. K. G. Krishnan, *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*, p. 108-09.

3 AN EARLY REFERENCE TO MADANA-MAHOTSAVA IN THE GUDNAPUR INCRIPTION OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN

S. P. Tewari

To all those interested in and acquainted with the history of the Kadambas, the discovery and also the singular importance of the Gudnapur inscrition of king Ravivarma are well-known. This record, as rightly remarked by it's editor, is important in several respects.[1] It's main significance for him, and similarly for most students of Indian political history, has been in the fact that it casts new light on the ancestors of Mayūravarma by giving their names. But, as gleaned from the text of the inscription itself, this is not the only purpose for which the record was issued by the king Ravivarma. The basic aim of this inscription was to register the construction of a temple of *manmatha* (the god of love) and give specific information regarding the celebration of a festival known as *Madanōtsava* or *Vasantōtsava*.[2]

As it is clear from the introduction by the learned editor, which precedes the text of the inscription, he has laid more emphasis on the political aspect of the record. The next thing which has received his attention in order of sequence is the issue of *Kāmajinālaya* and in between these two issues, one of political importance, and the other of sectarian significance, a reference of great cultural importance has somehow got lost. In other words, that which was the main object of this record in the eyes of the king Ravivarma himself, has been casually summarised in a couple of sentences by the editor and set aside. This is why I plan to dwell on this aspect of the record and elucidate it's significance in the light of other similar references from literature.

Before coming to the main body of the discussion I would like to go through the relevant lines of the record where the abode of *Manmatha* and the festival is referred to along with other details. These references are noticed in the text of the inscription from line 12 onwards. A casual look at the original text (in this connection) will not be out of place. It reads as follows:

L 12. "*yasya puṇya-nīmmagā bandhō durgam cha yasyōru-parvvatam-tēna vēśma manmathasy-ēdam Raviṇā kshitīndrēṇa kāritam*"[3]

Dr. Gopal, having omitted the meaning of half of the sentence, summarizes it as 'such a king built a beautiful abode for *Manmatha*".[4] The omitted part of the sentence suggests that the king whose good deeds (*puṇya*) were like a dam (*bandha*) on the river (*Gangā*) and whose powerful thighs (*ūru*) were like a mountaineous fort, got such a beautiful abode of *Manmatha* built. Indirectly, it may also indicate that he got a dam built on the river Esaḷē which is mentioned later in the record.[5]

L. 13. "*Dakshiṇē=sya rāja - vāsa gṛiham vāmē tath - āntaḥ purōllasat nṛitta śālē dvē punar-saumyē prāg-bhāgam āśritya vishṭhiṭē kusuma - gandha vāhibhiś - śiśirair - dhṛita -*

hāribhir-dakshiṇānilaiḥ yatra shaṭ-padāvalī-dhūmaḥ sandhukshyatē manmath - ānalaḥ "[6]

Here also, although Dr. Gopal has referred to the boundaries of the temple which was adjacent on the right side to the palace and on the left to the female apartment with two dancing halls (*nritta-śāle*) in it's front,[7] he has omitted the references to the close friends of *Manmatha* like *kusuma - gandhavāhi dakshiṇānila* and *shaṭpadāvalīdhūma* etc , which I shall discuss further on.

L. 14. "*Api cha, phulla - rēṇu dhūsaritō Rati vigrahachchhēva dakshiṇaḥ yatra kāma yuddha sannāha paṭahaḥ kaḷarauti kōkilaḥ tatra chitta-janmanō jagataḥ sthiti saṅkshay-ōtpatti - kāriṇah - sthāpitō madhau madhau lōka - nayan - ārvind - ōtsavō mahaḥ*".[8]

L. 15. "*yadi na yujyatē mahastu madhau kurypān-nṛipō mādhavē=thavā sambhavēd - yadā tadā kāryyaḥ kālāvadhiś śrēya sāva-dhaḥ(vadhiḥ) Bhagavatō Madanasya nir-yyāṇē kāryy - ānuyātrā mahikshitā yadi na vēshyatē na nirbandhaḥ sarvvāssukhārthā yataḥ kriyā*".[9]

The only fact stated in the sentence cited above which Gopal has included in his summary is that the festival (not festivals as he says)[10] of *kāma* (not pleasing to the eyes as he renders it) was to be celebrated in this temple during the spring season. He has omitted the useful references to *Rati - vigraha*, and *kōkilā*. Like wise, he could not discern the real purport of the phrase *madhau madhau*. Both these words are in the locative case meaning in the month of *Madhu* or *Chaitra*. The use of the locative case here can be interpreted in two possible ways. One is that perhaps the image or the temple of *Kāma* itself was installed or finally completed in the month of *Chaitra* (i. e. *Madhu*) before the commencement of the *Vasantōsava* (or *madhu-maha*) and the other is that possibly the image of *Kāma* which was made specially for the purpose of *madhūt-sava* was installed before the commence-ment of the festival. The latter, as also evinced from the literary sources, seems to be more probable.

Regarding the latter part of the sentence, the remark by Dr. Gopal that great laxity was shown in determining the actual date of the celebration, is not borne out by the text.[11] The only thing it says is that in case the festival could not be observed in the month of *madhu*, the king should observe it in the month of *mādhava* (i. e. *Vaiśākha*) or otherwise on an auspicious and pre-appointed time which should be clearly defined (*kālā-vadhiśrēyasāvadhi*).[12] His other remark that 'there was no compulsion that the king must perform it for all such acts were for seeking pleasure,'[13] is misleading. It has an altogether different meaning. The text says that on the eve of departure, setting out or the disposal (*niryāṇa*) of the idol(?) of *Madana*, the king should observe an *anuyātrā*. i. e., like the *jātra*, *yātrā* or *ratha-yātrā* procession performed annually at Puri, or as it is done even today in case of Vināyaka. The phrase *bhagavatō madanasya niryāṇē kāryy - ānuyātrā mahīkshitā* may also render the sense that after the *Madana* is disposed of or he is dead, the king should orga-nise a *yātrā* for him. Indirectly, it also seems to refer to the firewōrks which take place on the evening before the

festival of *madhu-māsa* and which symbolically refer to the death of *Kāma* or *Madana*. The inscription says that if the king so desires *(vessatē)* he may also take part in the *yātrā*, but he is under no compulsion (*nirbandha*) to do it. It means that the laxity was there only in the king's either taking part or not taking part in the *anuyātrā* and not in the case of conducting the *utsava* as such.

The other possible meaning of the same phrase may be that after the festivities of the god *Madana* are over (*Bhagavatō madanasya niryyāṇē [sati]*) the king should think of making journeys or going on expeditions if he wishes.[15]

Having considered the relevant portions of the record which refer to the festival of *Madana*, I will now proceed to examine their details by comparing them with other similar references form the literary texts.

First of all, I will consider the reference to the abode of *Kāma* (*Vēśma manmathasya*) which, from whatsoever information I could gather, seems to be one of the earliest epigraphical reference to a temple of this god.

As regards literature, the temple of *Kāma* or *Madana* finds mention as *Kāmadēvāyatana* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā*[16] of *Sūdraka*, *Pādatāḍitakam*[17] of Shyāmilaka, *Padma-Prābhṛitakam*[18] of *Sūdraka* and as *Kāmadēvagṛiha* in the *Kādambarī*[19] of Bāṇa and in a few other works. The actual location of the temple of *Madana* is more pointedly made clear when the reference to the celebration of the festival of *Madanōtsava* is made. For instance, in the *Kādambarī* the *Kāmadēva-gṛiha* is referred to in connection with the description of *vāsa-bhavana* of Kādambari, where there used to hang a scroll painted with the image of *Kāmadēva* (*Kāmadēvapaṭa*). Likewise, in the *Ratnāvali* of Harsha which gives an extremely interesting description of *Madanōtsava*, the location of the temple of *Kāma* is said to be inside the *makarandōdyāna* of the *antaḥpura*.[20] Here the image of the god was installed under an *Aśōka* tree. In the same way, king Udayana, described in the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmōdaragupta, witnesses the worship and the festivities (*parva*) of *Kāma* from the roof-top of his palace.[21] In another drama called *Pārijātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* which is better known to epigraphists as the Dhar Praśasti of king Arjunavarman, both the palace (*harmya-śṛinga*) and the harem figure in connection with the festival of *Kāma*.[22] All this goes to confirm the statement of our record where the location of the temple of *Kāma* is also referred to exactly in the same way.

The second important point of this record is the reference to two dancing halls which were adjacent to the forefront of the harem. Before I substantiate this piece of information from literature, it would be interesting to note that the word *nṛitta* which is used here is of an early usage. Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* has invariably used this term and there is no reference to the word *nṛitya* which is of later origin. The word *nṛitta* means a dance in general where *abhinaya* is not included,[23]

From the literary references to *Madanōtsava* we know that on such occasions dance used to form the main part of the

festivities. In the *Ratnāvali* of Harsha, the two dancers are described as entering the stage while dancing and singing *dvipadī khaṇḍa* songs whereupon the *Vidūshaka* also gets inspired and says that *aham-apy ētayōr-madhyē gatvā nṛityan gāyan madana-mahōtsavam mānayishyāmi.*[24] The *Kuṭṭanī-mata* also describes Udayana as witnessing the *charcharī* type of dance on this occasion.[25] The *charcharī* as we know from later works was also a kind of dance included in the *laśya* variety.[26] The *Mānasol-lāsa* says that on the occasion of *Vasan-tōtsava* a *rāga* called *hindōla* with the *tāla* known as *charcharī* should be recited in *Prākṛita* dialect.[27] In the *praśasti* of Arjunavarman I have referred to above, the details of dance on the occasion of *Vasan-tōtsava* are further elaborated. According to this drama, once the *madhūtsava* started (*adhunārabdhō madhōrutsava*) the ladies of the harem started participating in the dance along with the men. The two relevant verses from this *praśasti* are worth noticing in this regard. They read :

Paushpair - ābharaṇair - manōjña tanavaḥ svairam dadhatyō-dhunā. Nṛityantyō mada-vihvalaṁ laya visamvādēshu paurānganāḥ Krīḍā Maurajika svakānta vadanāny - ālō-kayantī - smitāḥ[28] Likewise, in the following verse from the same *praśasti* the whole composition of music and dance is elaborated :

Aṁsa - nyāsa graha kṛita padaṁ tāḍitam mandra bhūmau. Shaḍjam tanvan ṛishabha rahitam dhaivatēnāpi hīnam. Hindōlākhyaḥ sukhayati dadhan - madhyamaṁ tāra - dēśē. Kampaṁ vibhrat - kimapi ruchiram shaḍjakē pañchamē cha.[29] The reference to two *nṛitta - śālas* in our inscription is a clear indication of the fact that activities such as these were taking place there also.

After the description of the abode of *Manmatha*, *rāja - vāsa*, *antaḥpura* and the two dancing halls, what follows next in the record is the description of *Madhu māsa* along with all it's salient features. Before entering into further details, what will be interesting to note here is the fact that the reference to *madhu - maha*, *madhūtsava* or *Madanōtsava* of this inscriptions is probably the earliest of it's kind in as far as the epigraphical literature is concerned. Therefore, the record is not unique only for it's political details but also for it's cultural information.

Coming to the details of *madhumāsa*, I notice that the composer of the record has taken every care to include all the elements which were the favourites of classical poets on such occasions. For instance, his vivid description of the soothing breeze ladden with sweet fragrance known as *dakshiṇānila*, the ever humming sound and also the movement of black bees (*shaṭpadāvali*), his reference to the person of *Rati* smeared with flowery powder, and to the passionate sound of Kōkilā, all closely resemble to the descriptions of *Vasanta* from Kālidāsa, Daṇḍī, Māgha, Harsha, Bāṇa, Bilhaṇa and many others. Although, on account of time and space, I cannot go in all of the details, a few select examples from Kālidāsa and the Mandasor inscription will suffice to make the point clear. For example, the *'kusuma - gandha vāhibhiś-śiśirair - dhṛiti - hāribhir - dakshiṇānilaiḥ'* of our inscription is akin to the *'dig - dak-shiṇā gandhavaham mukhēna vyalīka niśvāsam - iv - ōtsasarja'* of the *Kumārasam-bhava*,[30] and again the line *'shaṭ - padāvalī*

dhūmaḥ sandhukshyatē manmathānalaḥ' is reminiscent of Kālidasa's *'nivēśayāmāsa madhur-dvirephān-nām-ākshar-āṇ-īva manōbhavasya'* and *'madhu dvirēphaḥ kusumaika-pātrē papau priyām svām-anuvartamānaḥ'*[31]. Likewise, the references to *Rati-vigraha* and *kalarauti kōkilaḥ* of the inscription have their parallels in Kālidāsa's :

Sa mādhavēn-ābhimatēna sakhyā Ratyā cha saśāṅkam-anuprayātaḥ[32] and, *Kusuma-janma tatō nava pallavās-tadanu shatpada kōkila kūjitam*

Iti yathā kramam-āvirabhūn-madhu drumavatīm-avatīrya-vanasthatīm [33]

From the epigraphical literature, the description of *madhu-māsa* (though without reference to *madhūtsava*) noticed in the Mandsor Inscription of Yaśōdharman is most worthy of mention in this regard. Without taking much time, I would prefer to quote the following verse from that record :

Yasmin-kālē kala mṛidu girām kōkilānām pralāpā Bhindant-īva smara - śara - nibhaḥ prōshitānām manāṅsi Bhṛingālinām dhvanir-anuvanam bhara-mandraś-cha yasminn-Ādhūtajyaṁ dhanur - iva nadach - chhrūyatē pushpakētōḥ[34]

Having gone so far in search of parallels to the details of *madhu-māsa* of our inscription, a point which I want to bring home is that all the references quoted above figure in connection with the festival of *Madana* the god of love and the central theme of all the works referred to is entirely Brahmanical in character. Besides these, references to the worship and also the festivities of *Madana* occur in the later *purāṇas* like *Bhavishyōttara*.[35] This leads us to conclude that the worship of *Madana* was purely a Brahmanical ritual. The other sects like Buddhists and Jains were averse to it.

In the light of all these details, when we reconsider line 17 of the record which according to Dr. Gopal, refers to the abode of *Kāma* as *Kāma-jinālaya*, it causes us to conclude that :

1. Even if the reading *jinālaya* which is doubted by some epigraphists[36] is accepted, the word *jina* was not used exclusively by Jains during this period, as it happens at a later date. In the early stages, the word *jina* was used not specifically for Tīrthankaras but more so for the Buddha[37] and in my opinion the word was free from any sectarian affiliation. Depending on the occasion, necessity or context, this word also rendered the sense of a victor (i. e. *jayati-iti jinaḥ*), although I must admit that except in a few rare cases the word *jina* has not been widely used by sects other than the Buddhists and Jains.

2. If we take *Kāma-jinālaya* to mean a Bāhubali temple as Dr. Gopal suggests,[38] we should also find references to the celebration of *madhūtsava, vasantōtsava* or *madanōtsava* and also towards *Rati* - the consort of *Kāma* from the Jaina cannons. But such references are not found, however.

3. Dr Gopal's line of reasoning that Gommata Bāhubali is the *Kāma* of the Jaina pantheon[39] suffers from more than one lacuna, and since he himself has withdrawn the statement which he makes later that Gōmmata is a *tadbhava* of *manmatha*[40], it is no use going further in this matter. However, his citations from the *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Chāvundarāya purāṇa*,

where Bāhubali is equated with *manmatha*,[41] do merit consideration.

The idea that on account of his *rūpa-sampadā*[42] Bāhubali has been seen and praised as *madana*, *manōbhava* or *manōja* by the women (*aṅganā*) of his times is not new. It has been an age-old practice with poets to praise the physical charm of their heroes and compare them with *Kāma*, the ideal of physical charm in the mythology of Hindus. Aśvaghōsha in his *Buddhacharita* has compared the physical charm of Buddha, with that of *pushpa-kētu* (i.e. *Kāma*):

'*Ayaṁ kila vyāyata pīna bāhū rūpēṇa sākshād-iva pushpakētuḥ*'[43]

Kalidāsa while talking about Rāma says that '*Vigrahēṇa madanasya chāruṇā so=bhavat - pratinidhir na karmaṇā.*'[44] and for the poetic fancy of Vatsabhaṭṭi the Bandhuvarman of Mandsor inscription him-self was another Kāma : *Rūpēṇa yaḥ kusu-ma - chāpa iva dvitīyaḥ*'.[45] Likewise, when Krishṇa of the *Bhāgavata* entered the city of Mathura he was seen variously by different people but always as *Kāma* by the fair sex :

'*Mallānām-aśanir-nṛiṇāṁ naravarō strīṇām smarō mūrtimān.*'[46] Instances like such can be further multiplied. What I would like to say in short is that relying on such a stylistic and literary description of Bāhubali in order to identify him with *Kāma* is a far fetched supposition.

4. Hence, since no deities such as *Kāma* or *Rati* his consort is mentioned in the Jaina cannons and also since there is no provision for celebrations like *madhūtsava* or *madanōtsava* there, it is clear that the temple belonged to *Kāma* the Hindu god of love, whose festival is also described elaborately in the inscription. This contro-versy has arisen partially because of a little mistake committed by the scribe and partially due to epigraphists who are not willing to forgive him for even one mistake.

Notes :

1 *Śrīkaṇṭhika, Gudnapur inscription* of *Kadamba Ravivarmā*, pp. 61-72, edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal.
2 *Ibid*, p. 70, text lines 12-15.
3 *Ibid*, p. 70, l. 12.
4 *Ibid*, p. 63.
5 *Ibid*, p. 71; text l.19.
6 *Ibid*, p. 70, text l.13.
7 *Ibid*, p. 63.
8 *Ibid*, p. 70, text l.14.
9 *Ibid*, text l.15.
10 *Ibid*, p. 63.

11 *Ibid*, p. 63.

12 This was necessary on account of descrepencies regarding the actual *tithis* on which the Hindu festivals were to be observed. For instance, *Vasantōtsava* as per some literary references, was to be celebrated either on the 1st day of the *chaitra śukla-paksha* or on *pūrṇimā* day, but in the work called *Dharma-sindhu* (vide Kielhorn, *Int. Ant.* Vol. XXVI-pp. 177–79) and *Bhavishyōttarapurāṇa* (ch. 135-19) it was to be celebrated on the 13th of *chaitra-sudi*. The words *Kālā-vadhi śrēya* and *sāvadhi* (not *sāvadha* as Dr. Gopal has read) refer to this meaning clearly.

13 *op. cit.* p. 63.

14 The word *vēshyatē* as read by Dr. Gopal is not correct. The reading is *vēssatē* i. e. dental *sa*. I owe this suggestion to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India. Mysore. As for the exact meaning of both the words (either *vēshyatē* or *vassatē*) is concerned I am not confirm since the words as such are not noticed in the dictionaries. My probable interpretation of the term is based on the meaning of the verb *vēs* given by Monier Williams (p. 1019) which means to desire, to go, to move or to love.

15 According to Kālidasa (*Raghu* IX. 48) the king after celebrating the *vasantōtsava* went out on hunting expeditions :

Atha yathā sukham-ārtavam-utsavaṁ samanubhūya vilāsavatī sakhaḥ Narapatiś-chakamē mṛigayā ratim sa madhuman-madhu-manmatha sannibhaḥ.

16 *Mṛichchhakaṭikā* Act I, *Kāma-dēvāyatan-ōdyānāt-prabhṛiti tasya,* etc.

17 *Chaturbhāṇī* (ed. by Motichandra and Agarawala, Bombay, 1959) pp. 196 and 218.

18 *Ibid*, p. 35.

19 *Kādambari* (N. S. edition, Bombay, 1921) p. 335. *Mālatikē pāṭalaya sindūra-rēṇunā Kāmadēvagṛihadanta-valabhikām.*

20 *Ratnāvali* (Bombay, 1925) Act I, V. 15 ff. *Adya khalumayā makarandōdyānaṁ gatvā raktāśōka pādapa talē sansthāpitōsya bhagavataḥ kusumāyudhasya pūjā nivartayitavvā.*

21 *Kuṭṭanīmata* (Calcutta, 1944) Verse. 885. *prāsādam – āruhantam Kusumāyudha – parva charcharīm drashṭum.*

22 *Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII. pp.* 101 *ff. text. L.* 13 *Nārāyaṇē – mātya śuchau nivēśya saurājya bhāram svayam – ārurōha.*

Dēvō vasantōtsava kautukēna navīna – ratnōjjvala harmya – śṛingam.

23 See. *Nāṭya-śāstra, Vishṇu. Dh. p, Sangīta Ratnākara* VII, 27–28, 31–32 and *Abhinaya – Darpaṇa* 15–16 etc. I owe this information to Kum. Hema Govindarajan of Mysore.

24 *Ratnāvali* Act I.

25 *Op. cit.* verse 885, For details on *Charcharī*, see Tewari S. P. *'On the meaning of the word charchari'* (vide *Svasti-Sri*, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra Felicitation Volume, Delhi 1984, pp. 257-265).

26 See. *Amara.* 3. 5. 10 and the commentary of Bhanuji on that ; see also *Karpūramañjari* IV. 10-18 ; *Sangita Ratnākara IV.* 292–293. I am thankful to Kum. Hema Govindarajan for providing me all this information.

27 *Manasōllāsa* (G. O. S) Vim. 4. ch. 16 :

Rāgo hindōlakōs-tatra tālaś-ch-aish-ātra charcharī Vasantasy-ōtsavē gēyā sphuṭam prākṛita bhāshayā.

28 *Ep. Ind.* VIII ; p. 101 ff. text L 21.

29 *Ibid.* lines 21-22.

30 *Kumāra*, III 25.

31 *Ibid.* Verses 27 and 35 respectively.

32 *Ibid.* 23.

33 *Raghu.* IX. 26

34 *C.I.I.*, Vol. III pp. 58-59.

35 *Bhavishya.* ch. 135. 19.

36 Gai, G.S. *A note on the Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman* - vide *Journal of Indian History* Vol. pp. 301-02. and the facsimile.

37 See. *Amara: Samanta bhadrō bhagavān-māra-jit lōka-jit-jinaḥ* and the commentaries there upon which explain the word *jina* as *bhavaṁ jāyatīti jinaḥ* In a recently found stone pedestal inscription of the time of Buddhagupta (year 161) from Mathura (vide Thaplyal, K. K. and Srivastava A.K. in *J.E.S.I.* Vol. IX. pp. 7-11) Buddha has been referred to as *jina.* Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harsha charita* has invariably addressed Buddha and his followers as *jina* (*na jinasy - eva - ārthavāda śūnyāni darśanani*, p. 236) and *jaina* (*Kāpilair - jeineir - lokāyetikeih*, p. 77). Halāyudha Bhaṭṭa on the analogy of the word *jina* meaning a victor, has called Vishṇu also as *sanātanō jinaḥ śaṁbhur - vidhiivēdhā gadāgrajaḥ* in his *Abhidhānaratnamālā* (1.25). See also Agrawala, V.S. in his *Harshacharita Ēka Samskṛitika Adhyayana* (p 195) who elaborates the points further. Thus, the sense of the word *Kāma-jina* may be derived as the *Kāma* the victor (i e. *Kāmēna Īchchhayā vā jayati - īti Kāma - jinaḥ*). It was also suggested to me by Dr. K.V. Ramesh, that the word *Kāma-jina* may equally apply to Siva.

38 *Op. cit.* p. 66.

39 *Ibid.* p. 66.

40 *Ibid.* p. 67.

41 *Ibid.* pp. 66-67.

42 *Ibid.* p. 67. see the verse quoted from the *Ādipurāṇa.*

43 *Buddhacharita.* III. 23-24.

44 *Raghu.* XI. 13.

45 *C.I.I.*, Vol. III. pp. 790 ff.

46 *Bhāgavat Purāne.* X. 43. 17.

I am thankful to Ms. Cynthia Talbot who went through the manuscript of this paper and graced it with some of her valuable suggestions.

4 DATE OF NAGACHANDRA

Madhav N. Katti and N. N. Swamy

Much has been discussed about the famous poet of medieval Karnataka, Nāgachandra, known also as Abhinava Pampa, who has earned a permanent place in the history of Kannaḍa literature. His works like *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mallinātha Pūrāṇa*[1] are too well known to the students of Kannaḍa literature. while discussing about his date, Sri Venkata Subbaiah opines that he may have lived earlier than 1040 A.D., while Sri Govinda Pai and Dr. D.L. Narasimhachar have suggested that he may have lived around 1140.[2] Many of the literary historians have thought his time to be around 1100 A D.[3] It was really unlucky that so far we could not get any direct clue about the date of this important poet of Kannaḍa literature.

An inscription[4] form the village Pañchaliṅgāla in Kurnool Taluk and District, found engraved on a stone kept in front of the Pañchaliṅgēśvara temple, in Kannaḍa language and characters, belonging to the reign of Chāḷukya Bhuvanaikamalla and dated Śaka 990, Kīlaka-saṁvatsara, Pushya ba. 5, Sunday, *Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti*, however mentions at the end of the record, Nāgachandra-kavīndra[5] as the composer of the record (*Śāsanamaṁ Nāgachandra-kavīndram baredaṁ*). Bhuvanaikamalla is stated, in the record, to be ruling from his capital at Kalyāṇa It is known to the historians well that this Bhuvanaikamalla was none other than Chāḷukya Sōmēśvara-II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya-VI and known to have ruled from 1068 to 1076 A.D[6] The details of date correspond to 1068 A.D., the month being December. If the *tithi* (*bahuḷa pañchamī*) is taken as correct, the date corresponds to December 16, Tuesday. However in all probability, the day as given in the record (i.e. Sunday) was correct, in which case the *tithi* would have to be taken either as ba. 3 or 9 (i e., respectively Decembar 14 or 21)[7]. However, it is of much significance to know from the record that the given date was definitely within the later half of the month of December.

It is known that the poet under reference i.e. Nāgachandra was also highly respected in the royal court as the expressions "*janapati-sabheyōḷ pūjyaṁ* and *dharaṇi-bhūbhṛitpati-pūjyaṁ*" indicate.[8] It is also suggested by some historians that Nāgachandra may have been the court poet of either the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa or the Hoysaḷās.[9] Sri Govinda Pai also surmises that he may have been in the court of Vikramāditya-VI.[10]

From the above discussion, it is clear that most of the literary historians have hinted at the possibility that Nāgachandra may have lived in the middle of the 11th century A D., though they could not pin point the date because of the absence of direct or epigraphical source material. The inscription under discussion states that it was written by Nāgachandra-kavīndra. In the light of the fact, mentioned above, it can be suggested that the poet and the composer of the present record is none else but the

famous poet Nāgachandra, the author of *Pampa Ramāyaṇa* and *Mallināíha Purāṇa.* The surmise of the literary critics, as referred to above, about his being a court poet is also proved by the fact that he is mentioned as the writer of the present record and therefore must have lived under the patronage of Bhuvanaikamalla i.e., Sōmēśvara-II. It may also be noted that the record was issued during the 1st year of the king's reign. The phrases like *"satkavi-Nāgachandra-nantire peṟarār Saraswati kuḍal paḍedar varamaṁ kavīśvarar"*[11], *"niravadya-guṇam sandu Nāgachandra-kavīndram"*, *"kavi-Nāgachandran=antude saphalaṁ"*[12] are expressive of the greatness of Nāgachandra as a poet. Our inscription also calls him as *'kavīndra'*[13] there by affirming the essence of the above descriptive phrases.

During the 12th century A.D. the only poet we know by name Nāgachandra is the one discussed above, the author of *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mallinātha Purāṇa.* Therefore the possibility of any other poet of this name being such a famous court poet is obviously ruled out. It is therefore, a matter of much significance to the history of Kannaḍa literature in general and the medieval Kannaḍa literature in particular, that the epigraph under discussion provides a direct evidence about the date of the great poet Nāgachandra and shows that he was under the patronage of Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya family.[14] Thus it is of much significance both for the political and literary history of Karnataka.

Notes :

1 R. S. Muguli : *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Charitre,* (Mysore, 1968), p. 80.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 82.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *A. R. Ep* , 1953-54, B No. 50.

5 P. B. Desai and others : *A History of Karnāṭaka* (Dharwar, 1981), pp. 174 ff.

6 From the inked impressions, text line 30.

7 L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai : *Indian Epehmeris,* Vol. III, p. 139. The Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti occured on December 23rd of the year.

8 *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Charitre,* Vol. III, (Mysore University 1976), p. 784.

9 *Ibid.,* pp. 784-85.

10 *Ibid.,* p 785.

11 *Ibid.,* p. 787.

12 *Samagra Kannaḍa Sāhitya Charitre,* Vol. III, (Bangalore University, 1975), p. 260.

13 From the inked impressions.

14 This is clear from the fact that he is mentioned as the composer of the record under discussion.

5 THE KUMBHAKONAM PLATES OF VIJAYARAGHAVA, SAKA 1578

Venkatesha

This copper-plate charter secured from Kuṁbhakōṇam in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu[1] is of king Vijayarāghava-nāyaka of Tanjore. The set consists of three plates written on both the sides. Except for the last side of the third plate which has three lines, each side of the other plates contain eight lines. The lines are demarcated clearly.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit and the script is Telugu. The chacters of the grant are of the 17th century and they are regular to the period to which they belong.

The charter is dated in Śaka 1578, Manmatha, when the Sun was in Mīna, śudi, Paurṇami, Friday corresponding to 1656 A. D. February 29, but the Śaka year was expired.

Following the date portion, lines 2–8 describe the string of epithets born by the king. They are *Chōḷa - Pāṇḍya Tuṇḍīra - maṇḍala - mukha - bahudēśa - maṇḍita, Karnāṭamahī - sāmrājya - vyaṁjakārha virudara - gaṁḍa, Sambuvara - gaṁda, Mannēra - gaṁḍa, Gaṁḍara - gōḷi* etc. He also had the title *Achyutarāya*[2] just as his father.[3]

This record for the first time furnishes the genealogy of the Nāyaks of Tanjore in unequivocal terms as under :

Timmāvani - nāyaka, *md* Bayyimāṁbā
|
Chevva - bhūpa
|
Achyuta
|
Raghunātha, *md* Aṁbikā
|
Vijayarāghava

Chevva - bhūpa who was respected by his enemies was succeeded by his son Achyuta. He is described as the son of Gaṁgā (*i.e., Bhīshma*) in battle and as the worshipper of the deity Śrī Raṁgēśa. He is compared to lord Achyuta in protecting his subjects, Vaikartana (i.e. Karṇa) in giving gifts, Indra in enjoyment (*bhōga*) and Bhōja in learning (*Bhōjaścha Sārasvatē*) To him was born Raghunātha just as the moon (*Saśāṁka*) was born from the ocean (*Sindhu*), He is like a Pārijāta (i.e. *Kaliyuga kalpavṛiksha*) in fulfilling the needs of the needy.

The donor of the present charter *i.e.*, king Vijayarāghava succeeded his father. He is described as the learned (*vidyānidhi*), worshipper of śrī - Rājagōpa. Further, he is compared to king Śibi in offering gifts (*dāna*), Nābhāga in offering alms (*annadāna*) and Nava - Manmatha in beauty. He is stated to have renovated the *vimāna*, *gōpura* and *prākāra* of Dvārakānātha, re - excavated a tank called Haridrā - taṭinī of Chaṁpakāraṇya and endowed a crown (*kirīṭa*) probably to the deity in the temple of Dakshiṇa-Dvāraka (i.e., modern Mannārguḍi), obviously, the deity śrī - Rājagōpa stated above. He is also mentioned to have revived the Vaishṇavism from the clutches of the (*pāshaṁḍis*)

The object of the present charter is to register the gift of the village Ālamēlumaṁgamāṁbāpura as an *agrahāra* to the Vaishṇava brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vēdas, by the queen. The gift village Ālamēlumaṁgamāṁbāpura, named after her is said to have been the best of the villages. It covers an area of sixty thousand in extent mesured by the rod called *kalāpadadrumā - daṇḍa*. It is at a distance of two *yōjanas* to the south of the river Kāvērī in the vicinity of Sirumaṁgala on the highway (*mahāpatha*) to Mallājammapura.

The boundries of the gift village are specified as to the east of Nāgaranipura which contained a *maṇṭapa* and a tank; to the south of Śavaḷakkāra village; to the west of Kōvanūr and to the north of Yaḍayar Kisiyanūr. The charter ends with two imprecatory verses. The sign-manual at the end reads: *śrī - Vijayarāghava*.

The present charter is the last to be issued during his reign period. Another copper-plate[4] belonging to his reign period is dated Śaka 1560, Bahudhānya corresponding to 1638 A. D. This was obviously, the first plate that was issued soon after his accession.

We know from a literary work called *Vijayarāghava-vaṁśāvaḷī* that his coronation took place in 1633 A.D. Another indirect evidence referring to his coronation is found mentioned in the work *Tantra-śikhāmaṇi* of Rājachūḍāmaṇi-dīkshita[5]. The record from Paṭṭīśvaram[6] in Tanjore district dated in 1634 A.D. does not refer to his accession. But it refers to a vow made on the feet of Nāyakkarayyan who may have been in all probability Raghunātha-nāyaka himself. On the basis of this record, it is not impossible to suggest that he might have succeeded his father Raghunātha-nāyaka around this date. The same epigraph also mentions Gōvinda-dīkshita by the expression '*Dīkshitasvāmi*'. Gōvinda-dīkshita was a well-known administrator and minister under Raghunātha-nāyaka. But he did not continue in the same capacity during the period of his successor Vijayarāghava. Considering these view points, it may be inferred that Raghunātha did not continue to rule after 1633 A.D. The record in 1642 A.D. of the time of the king Vijayarāghava comes from the village Muḍigoṇḍanallūr in Mayavaram taluk of Tanjore district.[7] It was on this date that Vijayarāghava who was powerful seem to have extended his help to the Vijayanagara king Śriraṅgarāya III when the latter was in trouble. Not many inscriptions before the date of our charter have been noticed, except for a record from Pāpanāśam dated in the cylic year Vyaya corresponding to 1647 A.D.[8]

It is necessary to take stock of the political conditions of the period to which our record belongs. During this period, Vijayarāghava was perhaps concentrating in the fortification of the vulnerable places of his kingdom[9] The condition of the empire was such that Vijayarāghavanāyaka could not count upon the support of his Vijayanagara counterpart Śrīraṅgarāya who deserted and exposed the former to the attacks of Muhammadans and Madurai forces. According the accounts of the Jesuits Vijayarāghava took shelter in the forest unable to face the onslaught of the Muhammadan army and was thus subjected to their command.

It was during this troubled period that the Muhammadan supremacy was established over Tanjore and Madurai. In the meanwhile, the Nāyaks of Madurai were concentrating in the fortfications of their strongholds. Though Vijayarāghava was submitted to the Muhammadans, he was allowed on sympathetic grounds to rule peacefully for a short period of about six years by the Bijapur General who invaded Tanjore earlier as evident from the Jesuit sources. It was during this period of lull in political activities that Vijayarāghava managed to issue the present grant.

The gift village Ālamēlumaṁgam-āṁbāpura may be identified with Alamēlupura in Tanjore taluk and district. Among the boundaries of the gift village, Nāgaranipura is in all probability be identical with Nāgatti of the Tanjore taluk. The other villages referred to as boundaries are not identifiable.

Notes :

I am highly thankful to the Chief Epigraphist for permitting me to edit this inscription. I am also indebted to Dr. M. D. Sampath: Dy. Superintending Epigraphist for his help in preparing this paper.

1 *A. R. Ep.*, 1921-22, No. A. 10.

2 *Ibid.*, B. 461.

3 *Ibid.*, 1946-47, No. A. 13.

4 *Ibid.*, 1945-46, No. A. 16. It states that the king granted the villages Nadiyam, Tuṟaiyūr and Udaināḍu in Paṭṭukōṭṭai-sīrmai for feeding the pilgrims at the choultry of Sāluvanāyak-karpaṭṭaṇam on their way to Sētu.

5 V. Vriddhagirisan ; *The Nayakas of Tanjore*, pp. 126-27.

6 *A. R. Ep.* 1926-27, No. B. 257. This record is dated in cyclic year Bhava which along with other details viz., Āṉi 21 corresponds to 1934 A. D.; June 19.

7 *Ibid.*, 1924-25, No. B. 166. Dated in the year Chitrabhānu, Āvaṇi 20 corresponding to 1642 A. D. August 20, it refers to an order issued by the king's agent Nayiniyappanāyakar making provision for the maintenance of worship in the temple of the goddess of this place.

8 *Ibid.*, 1921-22, No. B. 461.

9 This is referred to in a Telugu work called *Tañjāvūri-Āndhrarājula-Charitramu* ; *The Nāyakas of Tanjore* p. 140.

6. AN INSCRIPTION OF TUKOJI RAO (I) HOLKAR FROM THALNER, DISTRICT DHULE

N. M. Ganam

This short record was found from Thālner during the course of my visit to the place in the summer of 1981. Thālner is situated in the Shirpur taluka of the Dhule District in Maharashtra. Now reduced to an insignificant village, it was at one time an important place, being the first capital of the Fārūqī rulers of Khāndesh. It possesses a ruined fort and few tombs of architectural importance of the Fārūqī kings.[1]

The tablet[2] bearing the inscription is set up above the central *Miḥrāb* of the 'Idgāh. It occupies a total space of about 36 X 50 CM. The text which is in Persian and inscribed in *Nasta'līq* characters consists of three couplets preceded by an invocation to Allāh by His Attribute and followed by the endorsement containing the scribe's name and the date is given both in figures and chronogram. The epigraph records the construction of an 'Idgāh in A.H. 1201 (1786 - 87 A D.) by Muḥammad Sharīf son of Shāhjī Bābā, (*dabīr* (i.e. secretary) of Tukojī Rāo I Holkar and native of Patan (i.e. Paithan). It was composed by Zarīf and inscribed by one Quraishī

The text has been read as under :–

TEXT

1 Huwa'l Karīm

2 Sakhā bā Shujā'āt Muḥammad Sharīf Dabīr ast Tukbā-i-Hulkar Zarīf

3 Wa bāshinda-i-Shahr-i-Patan Pay qadīm Pisar-i-Shāhjī Bābā Maḥammad Sharīf

4 binā sāl-i-Thālnir Shud 'Idgāh 'azīm kāra-i-'Idgāh ay Zarīf (A. H.) 1201

5 Ḥurrara Quraishī 1201

TRANSLATION

1 He is Munificent

2 (Possessed) with generosity and bravery, Muḥamad Sharīf is the secretary of Tukbā (i. e. Tukobā) Holkar (O !) Zarīf

3 and a native of the city of Patan (i. e. Paithan), an ancient place. Maḥammad Sharīf (is) the son of Shāhjī Bābā

4 The construction of the 'Īdgāh of Thālnir, a magnificient work, was completed in the year (A. H.) 1201 O ! Zarīf

5 Written by Quraishī (A. H.) 1201 (1786–87 A. D.)

The inscription is important in more then one aspect. It is the only record so far available of Tukojī Rāo I and the fourth of the Holkar dynasty.[3] The epigraph which is dated A. H. 1201 (1786-87 A. D.) shows that the record belongs to a period of pre-kingship of Tukojī Rāo. We are told that after her accessiou to the throne in 1754, Ahīlya Bāī appointed Tukojī Rāo, a trusted officer as the Commander-in-Chief of the Holkar forces and also selected him as the heir to the house of Holkar. In recognition of his being the titular head of the Holkars, Tukojī Rāo received a robe of honour (*Khil'at*) from Peshwā Mādho Rāo who also conferred him the title of Sūbhedār. During the life time of Ahilya Bāi, Tukojī Rāo performed only the duties of the Chief Commander of the Holkar forces and never interfered in the civil administration of his patron. It was only after the death of Ahīlya Bāī in 1795 that Tukojī Rāo assumed the power of the head of the State.[4]

Another and important aspect of this record is that the builder of the 'Īdgāh *viz.*, Muḥammad Sharīf is mentioned in the text as the *dabīr* of Tukojī Rāo. The term *dabīr* is generally taken to mean a writer, a secretary. But this post carried much weight under the Sultanate and the Mughals. He was the confidential secretary of the state. All the correspondence between the sovereign and the rulers and other states and officials were passed through him.[5] *Dabīr* was an important member in the Council of eight Ministers called *Ashṭa pradhān* of Shivājī.[6] The record under study is thus important as it furnishes the evidence about the administrative status of the Holkar dynasty. Muḥammad Sharīf who was holding the post of *dabīr* must have enjoyed a high position due to the fact that he was attched to Tukojī Rāo. The epigraph also supplies an additional information about Muḥammad Sharīf that he was a resident of Paithan which is spelt in the text as Patan a town of great antiquity in the Aurangabad district. Unfortunately the identity of Muḥammad Sharīf cannot be established with certainty. Sir John Malcolm mentions one Sharīf Bhāī as the Commander of the Ahīlya Bāi's guards who led a force against the invading army of the Rānā of Udaipur.[7] But in the absence of any other evidence, it is difficult to say if both are identical.

None of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, the person who composed the text namely Zarīf and the scribe Quraishī can be satisfactorily identified. Unfortunately both the persons are recorded not by their proper-names but respectively by the poetic and surnames.

Further the present epigraph does not mention the name of the Mughal emperor which indicates that by this period, the Holkars ceased to acknowledge their sovereignty. It also confirms the historical references that at this period the region of Khandesh in which Thālner is situated was under the control of the Holkars.

To sum up, the record under study is quite important as it provides some details about the history of the Holkar dynasty.

Notes :-

1 *Dhulia District Gazetteers*, (Bombay, 1984) pp. 829-832. For an account of the monuments of Thalner, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), Bombay, 1968, p. 79.

2 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1981-82 No. D. 110.

3 *Ibid.*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 81, 95 and 110.

4 Sir John Malcolm, A *Memoir of Central* India, Vol. I (N. Delhi, 1970) pp. 164-174 ; *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteers : Indore* (Bhopal, 1971), pp. 63-64.

5 I. H. Quraishi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, (Karachi 1958), p. 86.

6 J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his times*, (Calcutta. 1961), pp. 360-361.

7 Malcolm, *Op. Cit.*, p. 179 (f. n. 1).

7 SOME INTERESTING ASPECTS OF THE MARATHA RULE AS GLEANED FROM THE TAMIL COPPER-PLATES OF THE THANJAVUR MARATHAS

C. R. Srinivasan

RECENTLY I had the opportunity of examining the Copper - Plate inscriptions of the Thanjavur Marathas along with my ex - colleague Mr. Pulavar S. Raju in the Tamil University. These inscriptions are now published under the caption '50 Copper - plates of the Marathas of Thanjavur' in Tamil by the Tamil University as its very first prestigious publication. This critical and comprehensive edition throws much light on the regional history primarily and deals in greater detail the other aspects, such as social, religious, economic, linguistic etc. As a matter of fact, the history of Marathas, is of absorbing interest in exterminating the Muslim rule to a greater extent and preventing the aggrandizement of British for some time. The British historians and as well as some of the historians under the British rule, instead of bringing out the true colours of this ethnic race of militant heroes of independence, painted them with uncouth and ugly colours of hatred and hostility; characterising them as monsters, murderers and 'mountain rats' always adding piquancy to their reports that they were bent of upon pillage and plunder. These Marathas who had some pockets in the down south far away from their original home are also portrayed by the Indian writers of the pre-independence days as the incompetent and inefficient rulers whose sole prerogative or aim was to fill their coffers with repressive taxation from the conquered soil.

An introspective study of these Tamil copper - plates indicate the efflorescence and sweet blend of twin cultures viz Tamils and Marathas. A bond of fidelity and friendship could be seen between the ruler and ruled in the coveted Kaveri basin, the rice bowl of South India. Now let us turn our attention how this far - flung Marathas penetrated to the deep South. Shahji of Bhonsale extraction who was garrisoned at Satara Fort was the member of the militia of Bijapur Sultan drifted to Bangalore during his campaign annexed and bestowed his fief to Ēkōji *alias* Venkōji, the younger son of his eldest queen who was dear to his heart. This was the period when internal dissensions and disharmony was prevalent between the two branches of the Nāyakas; viz Chokkanātha Nāyakar of Madurai and Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Thanjavur who crossed swords with each other on a flimsy reason of repudiating the request of the former to have the daughter-a ravishing beauty- of the latter in wedlock. The drums of Destiny beckoned the belligerent invader at the northern gates of the Palace. Unable to defend the pious and obstinate Vijayarāghava Nāyaka who was mortally wounded his royal retinue mostly of the members of the harem martyred themselves on the demise of the king in the pre-arranged gun powder explosion leaving behind his grandson the last descendant - the sole survivor of the family - Sengamaladoss to

the care of the loyal guardian Dharmalinga chettiar of Nāgapaṭṭinam.

The heir apparent was brought up by him *in cognito*. Kādar, the military commander, Gawāskhān and Abdul Halim, the ministers of the Bijapur Sultan elevated Sengamaladoss to the throne at the requst of *Rāyasam* Venkaṇṇa in 1675 A. D. and evicted the usurper Aḷagiri-Nāyakar, the representative of the Mudurai Nāyaka. Desire unfulfilled to become the minister, Rayasam engineered a plot and persuaded Ēkōji through his two ministers who were stationed at the outer gate of Thanjavur to extract the indemnities of war from the new ruler. It had a desired effect. The inexperienced Sengamaladoss abdicated the throne in a bloodless coup staged by his one time, mentor Ēkōji. Approval was bought and silence sought by the fabulous presents to the overlord, Bijapur Sultan. Thus ended a short span of one year rule paving way to the advent of Maratha rule at Thanjavur in 1676 A. D.

The two copper–plates viz. Batavia Museum Silver plate[2] and National Museum, Delhi copper-plate of Ēkōji reveal the pattern of taxation and exemption. Though the first is a mutual agreement with stipulated nine articles in respect of the commerce carried on by the Dutch Company. It reveals the exemption of the traditional eleemosynary charities like *dēvadāyam, māniyam* and *maḍappuṟam* at Nāgapaṭṭinam. The second record refers to socio-economic structure of various communities unanimously congregating to pay the respective dues both in kind and cash for the upkeep of the local temple and its related festivals. The important point which is to be observed here that Ēkōji did not meddle with the fabric of the society and simply followed and honoured the tax pattern of his predecessor, Nāyakas, an offshoot of Vijayanagara bureaucracy. Any radical change introduced in the alien land would have landed him or his successors in doldrums.

The first copper-plate cited above was only a ratification and renewal of the earlier agreement of the Nāyakas with the Dutch and the change of power necessitated Ēkōji who was only an agent and commander of the Bijapur Sultan in 1676 A. D. But in the second instance as the reigning king in 1679 A. D. Ēkōji could not alter the routine affairs of the State except insisting the presence of the Pēshwa, to be the witness of concord and consensus which was arrived at by the different communities The very revenue terms such as *dēvadāyam*, *maṇiyam*, and *maḍappuṟam* are reminiscence of the Vijayanagara-nayaka rule. Even the introductory portion was conventional and closely resembling to that of Vijayanagara rulers (*Srīman Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Ariyarāya etc.*) and also includes the names of some of the Chōḷa, Vijayanagara, Nāyaka, predecessors and legendary heroes:[3] Therefore the statement made by the earlier authors that the tax–'*Sauth*' was levied by the Marathas in the conquered soil particularly in Tamilnadu is absolutely far from truth. The policy of taxation has to be judged by the 19th century standards. Mr K. R. Subramaniam[4] rightly observes that "No problems of popular education, sanitation and health taxed the ruler's brain for they were the concern of the people and the local agencies. The cry for constitutional liberty never troubled his cons

cience for the best of reasons that the idea was absent A simple, light and equitable system has still to be evolved in India so it was not a fault of the Maratha if he loaded the back of the land holding camel to the breaking point."

Taking the administrative terms of official heirarchy, it can also be proved that most of the terms such as *aṭṭavaṇai astāntaram, ayam kaṇakku 'kāvalkārar, senāpati, tānāpati, tānikam, nāṭṭāmai, nāṭṭuttanam, maṇiyam maddisam, muddirai,* were already familiar in the palmy days of Vijayanagara rule. Some may contend from the terms other offices such as *amīna, Agent, Ḥuzur, kārubar, killēdār samprati, saikel, subēdhār, Jemēdhār, Pēshwa* etc. were introduced by Marathas. Barring the terms denoting high offices *sarkel, sūbēdhār,* and *pēshwa,* the cream of the administrative unit was always entrusted to their own kiths and kins. Other terms were brought into vogue either by the Muslims or adopted and popularised by the Britishers in their day to day administration even after the fall of these dynasties.

The Official incharge of *Subha* was known as Subēdhār *ayyar* and *ayyan* being the honorofic suffix. For the administrative convenience the country under their control was divided into five major *Subhās* viz. Paṭṭukōṭṭai, Maṉṉarkuḍi, Kumbakōnam, Māyavaram, Tiruvaiyāṟu : This seems to be only Official classification for internal palace records rather than popular adoption by the populace. Some other suffixes denoting territorial divisions such as *maṇḍalam, sīmai paṭṭu, karai taniyūr, vaḷanāḍu, kūṟṟam, chāvaḍi,* were known from either Chōḷa or Vijayanagara inscriptions, thereby clearly indicating that Marathas either did not alter the existing pattern of the divisions or could not regroup or rearrange or revamp them. When Rājarāja, the great expanded his empire, he classified and renamed almost all the places under his empire. Thanjavur being the capital of the erstwhile Chōḷas and heart of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, Marathas-it appears could not make any effective changes in the long established divisions, as the fate was spinning new threads and weaving a new web to entrap them, on one side of the mighty Muslims and on the other the scheming British and their lust for dominon. But it is interesting to note that the copper-plates provide reference to more than 26 places with suffix 'Simai' suggesting the lingering impact of the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka rule over these places. The suffix *pattu* denotes the numerical count or cluster of villages grouped under one major village. In Vijayanagara period, several *pāḷaiyams* or feifs came into existence. The Pāḷaiyakkārar or the man in charge of the *Pāḷaiyams* were to render military obligations in times of war. There was a wrong notion that during the Maratha rule, the division *Pāḷaiyam* was absent. The Tamil University Copper Plate dated in the reign of Shahji (1701 A. D.) records the grant of land by the Pāḷaiyakkārar of Śirkāḷiśīmai[5] to some brāhmaṇa residents of the same division. Rāvuttamiṇḍa nāyinar seems to be the heriditary title of this particular Pāḷayakkārar of Vaḍakāl, connoting the skill in 'Horse-riding' of their ancestors[6]. The title *Rāvutta* was known from Vijayanagara times as saint Arunagiri attributes this title to Lord Muruga as the best rider on horse in his *Tiruppugaḷ*.

The standard rods which were used

for measuring the lands were of varying length *viz.* 24, 12, 14, and 21 feet in different places and periods of Maratha rule.

As such it can be inferred there is not uniformity or standardisation in regard to the survey lands. Students of history are well sware of some of these 'Standard rods' which were in vogue during the rule of the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The same diversity of usage marks the systems of land, liquid and grain measures adopted in different areas in the Maratha period. Thus we get references to the measurements of land *mā*, *kuli*, *vēli*, and liquid and grain measurements, such as *kalam*, *kuruṇi*, *kaṇḍi*, *sēr*, *paḍi*, *nāḻi*, *uri*, *ūṇi*, *mā*, *tōṇḍi*, *kuḍam* and measurement of weights *manu*, and *tulām*. The currency of Marathas are not available for study. However some references are seen in the inscriptions about mint (*Kambaṭṭam*) and coins such as *paṇam*, *poṇ*, *Varāhan*, and *Rājagōpalachakram*, *tuḷai-poṇ* etc. The observation of the giant historian about coinage in general is worth remembering "The absence of prominent land-marks in the numismatic history of Southern India and the small proportion of inscribed specimens of coins discovered so far have stood in the way of scientific treatment of the coinage of the South. At the same time the relative richness of Epigraphical material has contributed to make the study of South India History largely dependant of the always difficult and none too certain conclusions of numismatics.[7] The statement holds good for the period under riview.

Mention was made earlier about a mint (*Kambaṭṭam*). This old mint of the Nāyaka at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam was reopened and revived jointly by Ēkōji and the Dutch Company with exclusive privelege of auditing the accounts to the ruler. In consonance with the articles of the agreement, authoristation was given to mint two denominations of gold coins of $3^1/_2$ and $8^1/_2$ of *māttu* or fineness viz. '*Paṇakambaṭṭam* and '*Varāgan Kambaṭṭam*' for circulation in two different territories, with equal rights over the profits on income.

The transition of power from Nāyakas to Marathas did not make any dent in the religious history of the period as evidenced by the Copper-plates. The Marathas of Thanjavur were Saivities in their faith, and in addition they are noted for their catholicity. Both Vaishnavism and Saivism received a paternal care. This Hindu kingdom preserved the ancient culture and its symbols the temples uninterruptedly. Islam and Christianity too flourished with their liberties uncurtailed. Though the members of the fairsex are not figuring in the *praśasti* portion of the Maratha records along with their Royal husbands, or sons, some of the grants made by them to various temples bear testimony to the religious piety and philanthropic disposition.[8] The widow of the last ruler Kāmakshiyamba Bai, wife of Shivāji (1832-55 A. D.), deserves mention here as various temples received gifts from her benevolent hands. A Bronze statue of Amunu Ammani moulded in the form of a 'Pāvai Viḷakku' in in the Mahāliṅgēśvara temple at Tiruviḍaimarudūr is a fine specimen of Bronze cast. The donotrix had donated this as thanks-giving to the Lord for having fulfilled her deep desire to marry the prince, Pratāpsing with whom she fell in love.

The Prince was the son of the deposed ruler Amarsing (1798 A. D.). The Princess is potrayed as holding the lamp with reverence, parrot perching on the right shoulder, the plaited hair dangling on the back and the beautiful feminine contours add dignity to the lady of the lamp. This exquisite icon is of 125cm in height and weight about 411$^{3}/_{4}$ *ser*. The pedestal contains the message of love, accomplishment of the cherished desire by the Grace-Devine and the commemoration of this event by the celebration of *Lakshadīpa*. Instances wherein the royal house-hold took keen interest in the upkeep of the temple with gifts and donations are not uncommon.

These copper-plates as a whole highlight some of the important events which had not come to the notice of the historians. The rule of Rāmabhadra-Nāyakar in between Raghunātha Nāyakar (1614-1640 A. D.) and Vijayarāghava Nāyakkar (1640-1674 A.D.)[9] the confirmation of joint rule of three sons of Ēkōji I viz Shahji, Sarafōji I and Tukkōji between 1684 ,and 1735 A. D.[10] the rule of Vēnkaṭapati Nāyakkar, Gurumūrti Nāyakkar and Rājagōpala Nāyakar the hitherto unknown Nāyakas in some parts of Chōḷamaṇḍalam during the Vijayanagara days, the deposed ruler Amarsing (1798 A.D) had a son named Pratāp sing[11] and the startling discovery is the absence of icon of the famous Chidambaram for a period well over 37 years form 1648-1686 A. D.[12] The period synchronises with the rule of two kings Ēkōji (1676-1684A.D.) and Shahji, his successor (1684-1711 A. D). However the copper plate which speaks about the episode refers to the regin of Sāmbāji of Gingee (1680-89A.D.) and Rājarām the sons of Shivāji (1640-80A. D.) The reference to the reign of Sāmbāji in the Copper plate casts a shadow of doubt whether Chidambaram was under the control of Marathas of Thanjavur or Marathas of Gingee-during the period of stabilisation as we know Shivāji was not pleased over the bequeathal of Bangalore Jagir or the southern places of conquest to Ēkōji and rose in revolt with his younger brother, during his expeditions to the South. The absence of Naṭarāja image for such a pretty long time and perhaps the clandestine itinerary of it to places of safety and religious asylum to Madurai and Kuḍimiyāmalai may in all probability be attributed with reasonable certainity to the Muslim infiltrations in the heart of the Chōḷa country; apprehending the dangers of distructions from the icy hands of the iconoclasts. It is worth remembering here a similar fate shared by Lord Raṅganātha earlier in Chōḷa period and Kāmākshī, the tutelary deity of the Kāñchi Kāmakōṭipīṭa trekking her way in a hammock under the pretext of small-pox from the distant Kāñchi to Thanjavur *via* Kumbakōnam during the Maratha rule.

Tiruvārūr, one of the Saptaviṭaṅka sthalas, was the hot favourite of the Maratha kings as majority of Copper plates are from this temple. We know from other source that Shahji (1685-1712 A. D.) eulogised this presiding deity in his musical opera '*Pallaki sēva prabandham*' and this initiation set a precedence to his successors to take up his cue for the particular preference to the deity or the 'Tyāgēśa cult' as evidenced by the host of MSS on Music and musicology available in the

Thanjavur Saraswati Mahal Library.[13] It is even said that the worship of the Brahadisvara temple at Thanjavur was regulated and reorganised on the lines of Tiruvārūr temple. His deep devotion finds an outburst in constructing the maṇḍapa at Mānambuchāvaḍi in his capital wherein Lord Tyāgarāja is enshrined in the sylvan surroundings of paintings (now decayed and faded due to vandalism).

The 180 years of illustrious rule of 13 kings including the illegitimate claimant Kāṭṭurāja (1738 A. D.) and the deposed ruler Amarsing (1787-98A.D.), the general tendency of the rulers was to identify themselves readily and totally with the people whom they ruled in an alien soil with a sense of justice and charitable disposition. They held the ground without coming into grips with neighbouring powers or people of their state, in major conflicts. This led to the cultural culmination which gave ample scope for many literary outputs and growth in various disciplines of fine arts. This was warranted on account of their self-foisted policy of isolation with the houses of Satara and Gingee Marathas or *vice-versa.*

Sandwitched between the aggressive attitude of the then Muslim power in South and imperialistic, designs of the British bureaucracy coupled with subtle diplomacy the Maratha power under Sarafōji, the great patron of arts and letters, came to the fold of the British who relegated the ruler as a puppet and pensioner of the exalted British empire, resulting to such an inglorious career at the end, and signifying only the former greatness, wealth and splendour and vanity and evanascence of earthly empires.

Notes :

1. S. Raju. *Fifty copper plates.* pp. 1 ff.
2. *Ibid,* pp. 2 ff.
3. *Ibid,* Introduction. p XIX.
4. K. R. Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore,* p. 97.
5. *Fifty copper plates,* p. XXXVIII.
6. *Ibid,* p. 32.
7. K. A. N. Sastry, *Cōḷas,* (old Edition) p. 443.
8. *Fifty copper plates,* pp. 194-202.
9. *Ibid,* pp. 112 ff.
10. *Ibid,* pp. 25 ff.
11. *Ibid,* pp. 195 ff.
12. *Ibid,* pp. 268 ff.
13. Gowri Kuppuswamy, op. cit. p. 63.

8. FIVE PANDYA KINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY

N. Sethuraman

Introduction

The extreme South of the Indian Peninsula was the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Madura was the traditional capital of the Pāṇḍyas. In the course of seven hundred years *i. e.*, from 1000 to 1700 A. D. scores of Pāṇḍya kings existed. They had only six names-often repeated. The six names were Kulaśēkhara, Śrīvallabha, Vīra Vikrama, Sundara and Parākrama. They were either Jaṭāvarmans or Māṟavarmans. Kings with the same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. When one tries to study the chronology of these Pāṇḍya kings he is liable to confuse one with another. Kielhorn (1907) Jacobi (1911) Swamikkannu Pillai (1913) and Robert Sewell (1915) identified eighteen Pāṇḍya kings who extsted between 1162 and 1357 A. D. Following in their foot steps, in my books "*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*" (edition 1980) and "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" (edition 1978) I identified twenty two more Pāṇḍya kings who existed between 1000 and 1400 A. D.

The investigation of the Pāṇḍya records is not easy. There are many obstacles and hurdles. In the midst of many difficulties I progress slowly and identify the hitherto unknown kings. In my books "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" and "*Medieval Pāṇḍyas*", I have dealt with in detail the methodology which should be followed in the investigation of the Pāṇḍya records. I commenced my research work in the Pāṇḍya chronology in 1978. I am still continuing my research. I visit many temples and see the stone records *in situ.* I also get necessary transcripts from the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. I compare the records, consult the internal evidence and apply the astronomical data. The discovery of the Sanskrit poem *Pāṇḍyakulōdaya* also throws new light. In the process of finding the truth, wherever adjustments are warranted, I never hesitate to accommodate them. My paper "*Two Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession* 1253 *and* 1254" presented in the annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held in March 1983 at Gorakhpur are such examples. In this paper also there are some revisions which I shall explain somewhere below. In the 14th century there were many Pāṇḍya kings. I have identified some of them vide my book "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" and my 1983 Gorakhpur paper. In this article I identify five Pāṇḍya kings namely, Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya 1330-1347, Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya (I) 1334-1367, Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya 1337-1343, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya 1337-1378, and Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya (II) 1341-1388.

In my book "*The Imperial Pāṇḍyas*" when I identified Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara of accession 1329, I mixed up the records of his junior. In this paper the junior is identified as a separate king Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1330. In my

earlier research, I surmised that Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama came to the throne in 1334 and he was called Rājākkaḷ Nāyaṉ with natal star Hasta and acceession star Rōhiṇī. In this paper I have found that Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama came to the throne in 1337. There was another Māṟavarmaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya with a surname Rājākkaḷ Nāyan, natal star Hasta and accession star Rōhiṇī. He was a different king. I know his date but I have not introduced him in this paper Swamikkannu Pillai surmised that there was only one Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya and that king existed in the 14th century with the accession date 1334. In this article I have identified two Māṟavarmaṉ Vira Pāṇḍyas with accession dates 1334 and 1341 respectively. The existence of two Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyas is a fixed point in the Pāṇḍya chronology. In the history of the Pāṇḍyas from 550 to 1400 A.D. there were two Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyas and they existed in the 14th century only. Their records are available in all the districts of Tamil Nadu with the exception of the Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. This information is a fixed point in the methodology in the investigation of the Pāṇḍya records. If we find the name Māṟavarmaṉ Vira Pāṇḍya in the records found north of Madura, we can immediately conclude that the records belong to the 14th century. Thus the two Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍyas help us in identifying the contemporary Pāṇḍya princes also.

Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341 is an important king. In his Tirukkālakkuḍi (Ramnad district) record dated Friday the 12th September 1371, Vīra Pāṇḍya states, that the Vijayanagar prince Kampaṇa drove out the Muhammadans and established orderly government. This statement, which agrees with the records of Kampaṇa, Tamil Chronicle *Madurai tala varalāṟu*, *Sthāṉikar varalāru* and the Sanskrit poem *Mathurā-vijayam* is a turning point in the history of Tamil Nadu and also South India.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA 1330–1347

Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sudara Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th July 1330. In the year 1343 he gilded the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple. He was called *kōyil poṉ mēynda Perumāḷ* "lord or king who gilded the temple". To some extent he was successful in fighting against the Madurai Sultanates. This is evident from the appearance of his records dated 1339 and 1340 at Kāḷaiyārkōyil which is 60 kilometers east of Madura where the Muhammadan invaders, Sultans, were ruling in that period. Probably because of this success Sundara adopted the title *paḻiyil pugaḻānāṉ* "he who became famous in removing the bad name". His rule upto the year 1347 is known. The records of Sundara are tabulated below. The logical arguments of how, the kings are identified are detailed in the discussion.

Record–Village	Year, data and other details	Date
453/1966 Tirunallār	4, Kaṟkāṭaka, śu 4, Uttiram and Friday	16th July 1333 A.D.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
25/1900 Tāramaṅgalam	6, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu. 4 Uttiram and Monday (Lands were sold to the *brāhmaṇas* of the colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa Chaturvēdimaṅgalam founded by Nalluḍai Appar)	24th July 1335 A.D.
137/1902 Tiruvēndipuram	10, Kaṛkaṭaka, ba. 5, Monday and Rēvatī (see discussion)	26th July 1339 A.D.
583/1902 Kāḷayārkōyil	Year lost, Dhanus, śu. 9, Friday and Rēvatī (Year must be 10-see discussion).	10th Dec. 1339 A.D.
584/1902 Kāḷayārkōyil	10, Dhanus, śu. 3, mistake for ba. 3, Pūśam and Sunday - (*tithi* is restored in bracket as *thuthikai*. It must be *trithikai*),	19th Dec. 1339 A.D.
581-A/1902 Kāḷayārkōyil	11, Dhanus, didikai for ba. 2, Punarpūśam and Wednesday.	6th Dec. 1340 A.D.
119/1944 Ṛishivañjiyam	17, Makara, śu. 5, Rēvatī and Wednesday. The king is called Poṉ Parappiṉa-perumāḷ (who covered the temple with gold).	17th Jan. 1347 A.D.

On the basis of 119 1944 the star Rēvatī in Makara of 1347 falls in the 17th year. Accordingly Rēvati in Makara fo 1330 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 24th January. On the basis of 137/1902 star Rēvati in Kaṛkaṭaka of 1339 falls in the 10th year. Accordingly Rēvatī in Kaṛkaṭaka of 1330 falls in the regnal year one. The star was current on 7th July.

24th January 1330 ≡ Regnal year Zero.
7th July 1330 ≡ Regnal year One.

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya came to the thone between the 25th Janury and the 7th July 1330 A. D. His reign upto 1347 A D. is known. Only seven records with astronomical data are available. The other records of this king are identified with the help of internal evidence. This we shall see below under discussion.

Discussion

Tāramaṅgalam record 25/1900 of the table is dated 1335. The record[1] states that lands were sold to the *Brāhmins* of the *Brāhmin* colony Śrī Lakshmaṇa - chaturvēdimaṅgalam which was founded by Nalluḍai Appar. This colony was under construction by Nalluḍai Appar in 1316 and 1317 A. D. This is evident from Tāramaṅgalam record[2] 24/1900 and 23/1900 discussed in Appendices III and II of my

paper *"Two Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas of accession 1303 and 1304"*-presented in the 9th annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held in March 1983 at Gorakhpur.

Tiruvēndipuram record 137/1902 of the table is dated 1339. The record[3] registers the settlement made by the villagers of Śōḻakulavalli Nallūr. The chief Uḍaiyār *alias* Puttuḻān Tiruvaraṅgachelvar was pleased to be present in the meeting. Certain villages were assigned to the temple. Puttuḻān Tiruvaraṅgachelvar founded a new *Brāhmin* colony called *"Puttuḻān Brahmadēśam"* in his name. The villages and the *Brāhmin* colony were declared tax free in accordance with the royal letters received from Perumāḷ Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva, Perumāḷ Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva and Perumaḷ Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. The internal evidence supplies the following information.

The *Brāhmin* colony Puttuḻān Brahmadēśam was founded in 1339. This is important and it will be referred to somewhere below. The royal letters were received from three kings namely Sundara Pāṇḍya of this record, Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1337 and Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1337. The three kings figure in 1339 (the date of this record) in the chronological order. They were contemporaries. In this record one of the signatories is Śaṅkaramakēśari Mūvēndavēḷān and he figures in 406/1921 year 6 corresponding to 1347 discussed under Māṟavarman Vīra II of accession 1341.

The village Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram is within a few kilometers from the village Tiruvēndipuram. A record which comes from Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram is in the 14th year of Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān.[4] The proper record belongs to the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple. Since the lands mentioned in the transactions are in the village Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram, the record is engraved on the walls of the Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram Śiva Temple. The record refers to the service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* instituted in the name of the king. The record mentions the *Brahmin* colony Puttuḻāṉ Brahmadēśam situated in the village Tiruvēndipuram. We have already seen that this brahmin colony was founded in 1339 by Puttuḻāṉ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar Villavarayar. Evidently this record belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344. The record states that in the 13th year of the king (i. e., 1343) the chief Puttuḻāṉ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar villavarayar granted 30 *vēlis* of lands to the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu Temple. Lands were also granted for those who worked for forming the garden called *ulagamuṇḍān tirunandavanam* called after Lord Kṛishṇa. The income from the lands was to be utilised as follows :

a) For offerings to the image (of god) called kōyil poṉ mēymda perumāḷ set uy by the king in his name in the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple.

b) For the service called *Sundara Pāṇḍyan sandhi* instituted in the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple in the name of the king.

It is evident that Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1339 was also called *"kōil poṉ mēynda perumāḷ"* i. e., "the king who gilded the temple". Probably he would have gilded the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple. The garden is mentioned in the

records of Māṟavarman Vīra I and II discussed below.

The Ṛishivañjiyam record 119/1944 dated 1347 (listed in the table) rightly calls the king "*poṉ paṟappiṉa perumāḷ*" Lord or king who gilded the temple.[5]

The above chief Puttuḷāṉ Tirevaraṅgachelvarvillavarayar figures in the records of the contemporary kings Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334, Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya of accession 1337 and Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341. We shall see those records below.

1) The above chief figures in the record of Māṟavarman Vikrama dated 1340. This is Tiruvēndipuram record[6] No. 143/1902 and it is discussed under Māṟavarman Vikrama.

2) A record which comes[7] from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I or II year 10 corresponding to 1344 or 1351. The record refers to the agreement made with Uḍaiyār Puttuḷāṉ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar *alias* villavarayar.

3) Another record[8] which also comes from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra I or II year 15 corresponding to 1349 or 1356. The record states that *ulagamuṇḍāṉ tiruttōppu* the garden called after Lord Kṛishṇa was founded by Puttuḷāṉ Tiruvaraṅgachelvar *alias* villavarayar. We have already seen that in 1343 the same chief was constructing this garden.

4) A record[9] (151/1904) which comes from Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram belongs to Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344. The record states that Milaiyaṉ Kiḻāṉ Aḻagiya Tiruchiṟṟambalam Uḍaiyān Maṉṟir Kuṉikkum Perumāṉ *alias* Abimāna tuṅga Pallavarayaṉ of Mēyūr made grants to the temple for conducting a service called *paḻiyil pugaḻānāṉ* i.e., "became famous in removing the bad name"-probably in the surname of the king. A signatory by name Kaṉṉamaṅgalam Uḍaiyāṉ figures. The two individuals of this record figure in the records of Māṟavarman Vikrama of accession 1337 and the two Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession 1334 and 1341. This we shall see in the records discussed under those kings.

Kāḷaiyār Kōyil records

Record No. 583/1902 (listed in the table) belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara and it states[10] that Naṅguḍaiāṉ Āvuḍaiyāṉ Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṉ, a merchant of the city Śrīvallabhanperunteruvu, institutes (*kaṭṭukiṟa*) a service called *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṉ sandhi* in his name in the temple. The word *kaṭṭukiṟa* is in present tense. I have restored the regnal year as 10 after consulting the following records. The date of the present record is 10th December 1339.

Another record[11] of the same temple belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara year 10 Mārgaḻi 24th day. It refers to the *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṉ - sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṉa*) by the same individual. The word "*kaṭṭiṉa*" is in past tense. This is justified by the

data which agree with 21st December 1339 which date is later than 10th December of the previous record.

Record No 584/1902 of the same temple (listed in the table)[12] is in year 10. The record refers to *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷan sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṇa* - in past tense) by the same individual. The date of the record is 19th December 1339.

Record No. 581-A/1802 of the same temple (listed in the table)[13] is in year 11. The record refers to the service *Peruṅkaruṇaiyāḷaṇ sandhi* instituted (*kaṭṭiṇa*) in past tense by the same individual. The date falls on 6th December 1340.

Satisfying the internal evidence the data of the above four records do not supply dates in the reign of any other known Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The data agree for Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya of accession 1323 only.

Note : Kāḷāyār Kōyil is approximately 60 kilometer east of Madura. The record of Sundara dated 1339 and 1340 are found in Kāḷaiyar Kōyil when the Muhammadan Sultans were ruling in Madura. The Pāṇḍya records indicate that the Pāṇḍyas were slowly moving towards Madura.

JATAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA 1337 - 1378

Jaṭāvarmaṉ Vīra Pāṇḍya ruled from 1337 to 1378. He figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record No. 137/1902 (dated 1339) discussed under Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330. The records of Vīra Pāṇḍya are tabulated below.

Record–Village	Year, data and other details	Date
69/1924 Perichikōyil	40, Śaka 1298, Mithuṇa 22, Puṇarvasu, Monday mistake for Tuesday.	17th June 1376 A.D.
81/1940 Tiruvattiyūr	13, Kaṇṇi, śu. 9, Tiruvōṇam and Monday.	21st Sep. 1349 A.D.
Pd 431 Neivāśal	42, Dhanus, ba. 12, Aṇurādha and Friday.	17th Dec. 1378 A.D.

In the first record the title Jaṭāvarman or Māṛavarman is absent. The other two records supply the title Jaṭāvarman.

On the basis of the Neivāśal record star Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1378 falls in the 42nd year. Accordingly, Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1336 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 2nd December. On the basis of the Perichikōyil record star Puṇarvaśu in Mithuṇa of 1376 falls in the 40th year. Accordingly Aṇurādha in Dhanus of 1336 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 2nd December. On the basis of the Perichikōil record star Puṇarvasu in Mithuṇa of 1376 falls in the 40th year. Accordin-

gly star Puṉarvasu in Mithuṉa of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 1st June.

2nd December 1336=Regnal year Zero.

1st June 1337=Regnal year One.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 3rd December 1336 and the 1st June 1337. The Tamil kings never ascend the throne in the month December which falls in the inauspicious month Mārgaḷi. In the circumstances we can surmise that Jaṭāvarman Vīra came to the throne in the first quarter of 1337. His rule upto 1378 is known. His other records can be identified provided the texts of all the Pāṇḍya records are published.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA PANDYA 1337-1343

Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 20th May and the 15th August 1337. In the year 1340, his chief Abhimānatuṅga Pallavarayaṉ caused the image of Srī Varāha to be set up at the sacred entrance of the Tiruvēndipuram Vishṇu temple. This Varāha is praised in the Vaishṇavite Chronicles of the later period. The reign of Vikrama is known upto 1343. The records of Māṟavarman Vikrama are tabulated below. Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330, Māṟavarman Vīra I of accession 1334, Jaṭāvarman Vīra of accession 1337 and Māṟavarman Vīra II of accession 1341 are the then contemporary princes. They are referred to in the discussion.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
143/1902 Tiruvēndipuram	3, Makara, śu. 4, mistake for su. 14, Puṉarpūśam and Friday (see-discussion)	14th Jan. 1340 A.D.
124/1904 Tīrthanagari	4, Kumbha, śu. 3, mistake for ba 3, Sunday and Uttiram (see discussion)	4th Feb. 1931 A.D.
104/1944 Tiruvēndipuram	4, Ṛishabha, ba 5, Uttirāḍam and Sunday.	6th May 1341 A.D.
120/1896 Tiruveṇkāḍu	5, Dhanus, śu. Rēvatī and Sunday (see discussion)	16th Dec. 1341 A.D.
410/1909 Siddaliṅgamaḍam	6, Kaṉṉi śu. 1, Hasta and Sunday.	1st Sep. 1342 A.D.
252/1256 Tiruvēndipuram	7, Siṁha, ba. 4, Rēvatī and Sunday (see discussion)	10th Aug. 1343 A.D.

On the basis of 104/1944 star Uttirāḍam in Ṛishabha of 1341 falls in the 4th year. Accordingly star Uttirāḍam in Ṛishabha of 1337 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 19th May. On the basis of 252/1956 star Rēvatī in Siṁha of 1343 falls in the 7th year. Accordingly star Rēvatī in Siṁha of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 15th August.

19th May 1337 = Regnal year Zero.

15th August 1337 = Regnal year One

Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya came to the throne between the 20th May and the 15th August 1337. His rule upto 1343 is known.

Discussion

1. Tīrthanagari record 124/1904 (listed in the table) of Vikrama is dated 4th February 1341. The record[14] registers the gift of 20 *mā* of lands by Tāmandai Vēḷān Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Uḍiyāṉ Teṉṉavarāyaṉ of Peruṅganūr in Pañchavan Mādēvipuram in Kuvalaiya nāḍu in Rāja Rāja - Vaḷanāḍu to the *kaṇkāṇikaraṇattār* of the temple Tiruttinainagar Uḍaiyār as *tirunāmattukkāṇi.* A record[15] which comes from this temple belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra I or II of accession 1334 or 1341, year 9. It is dated either 1343 or 1350. It refers to the 20 *mā* of lands formerly given as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* by the above individual Tāmandai Teṉṉavarāyaṉ of Peruṅganūr.

2. Tiruvēndipuram record 143/1902 of Vikrama (listed in the table) is dated 14th January 1340. The record mentions several grants. One of them was meant for conducting services to the image of Śri Varāha which image was caused to be set up by Milaiyaṉ Kiḷāṉ Maṉṟil Kuṇikkum Perumāṉ *alias* Abimāna Tuṅga Pallavarayar of Mēyūr, a hamlet of Śōḷakulavallinallūr of Paṭṭaṉ pakkā nāḍu in Naḍuvil-nāḍu *alias* Rāja Rāja - Vaḷanāḍu.[16] The record repeats two times that the donor caused the image of Śrī Varāha Nāyaṉār to be set up at the sacred entrance (*tiruvāśappḍiyil*) of the temple. The donor purchased some lands and agreed to burn lamps before Śrī Varāha and also supply oil. Incidentally the record also refers to the grants made by Puttāḷāṉ Villavarayar who figures in the records discussed under Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330.

A record[17] which comes from Tiruvaḍi belongs to Māṟavarman Vikrama. It is in year 3 corresponding to 1340. The record states that the chief Milaiyaṉ Kiḷāṉ Maṉṟil Kuṇikkum Perumān *alias* Abimānatuṅga Pallavarayar of Mēyūr formed a garden in his name and gifted it to the Tiruvāḍi temple. Another record[18] of this temple is the order of the same chief and it refers to the same garden formed by him.

The village Tiruvēndipuram is about 20 kilometers east of Tiruvaḍi. A record[19] which comes from Tiruvēndipuram belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍy II It is in year 4 corresponding to 1345. It states that Milaiyaṉ Kiḷāṉ Maṉṟil Kuṇikkum Perumāṉ *alias* Dīpattarayaṉ of Mēyūr caused the image of Śrī Varāha to be set up at the sacred entrance (*tiruvāśappaḍiyil*) of the temple. Here the donor is called Dīpattarayaṉ instead of Abimānatuṅga

Pallavarayaṉ.[20] Dīpattarayaṉ is a title. It means "Officer for lights" (in the temple). The record states that the actul consecration of the image of Śrī Varāha was done (*pratishṭai paṇṇiṇa*) by Bhāradvāji Aḍiyārkku Meyyāṉ *alias* Śiṅgapperumāḷ of Arumbhākkam.[21]

3. Tiruveṇkāḍu record[22] No. 120/1896 of Vikrama listed in the table) is dated 1341. In this record the same chief Milaiyaṉ Kiḻāṉ Maṉṟil Kuṉikkum Perumāṉ *alias* Dīpattarayaṉ of Mēyūr figures with his full address. He makes grants for burning lamps in the temple.

The same chief figures in the Chidambaram record[23] of Māṟavarman Vīra I or II year 9 corresponding to 1343 or 1350. Again the same chief figures in the Tiruvaḍi record 406/1921 dated 1347 listed and discussed under Māṟavarmaṉ Vīra II.

4. Tiruvēndipuram record 252/1956 of Māṟavarman Vikrama (listed in the table) is dated 10th August 1343. It states that Periyadēvan Amarakōṉ inherited lands from his father-in-law Nāyakaperumāṉ as *śrīdhana* when the latter died. Amarakōṉ did not pay the tax dues accrued on these lands from the 17th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya to the 6th and 7th year of Vikrama. So Amarakōṉ sold some lands and paid part payment in 1343. Tirvuēndipuram record 249/1956 dated 1347 is discussed under Māṟavarman Vīra II. It repeats the same story.[24] It states that Amarakōṉ sold some more lands and cleared the dues.

Sundara whose 17th year is quoted is Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[25] of accession 1318. The above transactions reveal that Amarakōṉ did not pay the taxes accrued on the lands from 1335. In the year 1343 in the reign of Māṟavarman Vikrama he sold some lands and made part payment. Again in 1347 in the reign of Māṟvarman Vīra II he sold some more lands and cleared the dues.

5 Discussions 1 to 4 prove that Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1310, Māṟavarman Vikrama of accession 1337, Māṟavarman Vīra I of accession 1334 and Māṟavarman Vīra II of accession 1341 were contemporaries.

A record[26] which comes from the village Vikravāṇḍi (South Arcot district) introduces the king as Sakalalōka Chakravartin Rāja Nārāyanaṉ Vikrama Pāṇḍya. Probably Vikrama defeted the then local chieftain Sakalalōka Chakravarthi Rāja Nārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya and adopted his title. The village "Vikravāṇḍi" is a corrupt name of Vikrama Pāṇḍi or Vikrama Pāṇḍyapuram.

TWO MARAVARMAN VIRA PANDYAS OF ACCESSION 1334 AND 1341

Swamikkannu Pillai surmised that Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya came to the throne in 1334. He futher surmised that no other king of this name existed in the 13th or 14th century. His conclusion was that there was only one Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya[14] and that king came to the throne in 1334.[27]

The clue which points out the accession date is found in the Kōvilūr record Pd. 450 engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Bālapurīśvara temple. The record belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya. The title Māṟavarman is absent. The other data

are ; year 34, month Āṇi, 8th solar day ; and star Makha. The week day is absent. The date is[28] certainly 4th June 1367. It was 8th day in the Tamil month Āṇi and star Makha was current upto 8 45 A. M. The record indicates that 1334 was the accession year of the king On the basis of this record Pillai consulted some more records and surmised that Vīra Pāṇḍya was a Māṛavarman and he came to the throne in 1334. However certain dates suggested by Pillai are not satisfactory.

Another record Pd 451 is found on the same south wall of the central shrine of the Kōvilūr Bālapurīśvara temple. The record belongs to Vīra Pāṇḍya. The title Māṛavarman is absent. The data are ; year 33, month Vaikāśi 29th solar day. Wednesday and star Viśākā. Pillai correctly equated the data to Wednesday the 24th May 1374. It was 29th Vaikāśi and the star was current upto 6-30 P.M. The record indicates that 1341 was the accession year of the king. But Pillai said that the regnal year mentioned in the record was probably a mistake[29] for 40. This suggestion is not acceptable.

Pd 450 does not supply the week day It is taken as the foundation to establish the existance of Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1334 Pd 451 is engraved on the same wall and it supplies the week day. But Pillai corrected the regnal year in this record Why should we accept a record in which the week day is absent and correct the record in which the week day is quoted ?

As a matter of fact both the records supply the regnal year, solar month, solar day and star. In the second record week day is also quoted. In the circumstances we have to acknowledge the two records Pd 450 and 451 as genuine and perfect in all respects and accept that two kings by name Vīra Pāṇḍya existed. The senior came to the throne in 1334 and the junior in 1341. As we shall see below both had the same title Māṛavarman. We shall consult those records which were consulted by Pillai and also the records of recent discoveries. We shall rely on the internal evidence and establish the existence of the two kings.

MARAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA I 1334–1367

Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th June 1334. His surname was Kaliyugarāman (?). His reign upto 1367 is known. The records of this king are discussed below.

1. Record No. 481/1916 is found on the Nambantaṭṭai rock in the village Pāppākuḍi in Tirunelveli district. The data are restored as year 2 [2] Kaṛkaṭaka 2 [2] śu. 14, Saturday and Uttiram a mistake for Uttirāḍaṁ. Swamikkannu Pillai said that the reading was doubtful[30] in many cases. Anyway he suggested two dates either 5th July 1354 which was 8th Kaṛkaṭaka or 19th July 1354 which was 22nd Kaṛkaṭaka, ba. 14 and Puṇarvasu. The regnal year does not admit 1334 as the accession date. The data are technically imperfect and they were restored from the damaged portions. The record belongs to a later Pāṇḍya of the 15th or 16th century. Because in 1354 Māṛavarman Vīra could not have influenced his authority south of Madura where the Sultans were ruling at that time.

2. Record No. 422/1917 comes from Kuttālam (In Tirunelveli district). The data are ; year 23, Ṛishabha, śu 5, Wednesday and Pushya. Pillai suggested[31] 24th May 1357 and also 12th May 1445. The internal evidence proves that this Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya existed in the 15th century.[32] This record should also be rejected.

Pillai assigned the above two records[33] to Māravarman Vira I of accession 1334. I have given the reasons for rejecting them. Records which are assigned to Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya I (of accession 1334) are tabulated below.

Record–Village	Year, data and other details	Date
227/1916 Seṅgamal	11, Kaṛkaṭaka, śu. 7, Saturday and Svāti (Vaiśya and Vāṇṇiya merchants of 18 districts constructed *Alaṅkāra-maṭha* for Dharma Dhavaḷa Kūttar.	17th July 1344 A.D.
360/1938 Kuñjiram	14, Tulā, śu. 11, Monday and Sadayam.	15th Oct. 1347 A.D.
578/1902 Kāḷaiyārkōyil	14, Makara, ba. 5, Hasta and Sunday.	20th Jan. 1348 A.D.
346/1925 Kiḷvāram	21, Tulā, ba 13, mistake for ba. 11 or 12 Uttiram and Monday.	13th Oct. 1354 A.D.
Pd 450 Kōvilūr	34, Āṇi 8, Makha (The king is called Vīra Pāṇḍya. The title Māravarman is absent).	4th June 1367 A.D.

On the basis of 57P/1902 star Hasta in Makara of 1348 falls in the 14th year. Accordingly Hasta in Makara of 1334 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 24th January. On the basis of Pd. 450 star Makha in Āṇi of 1367 falls in the 34th year. Accordingly Makha in Āṇi of 1334 falls in the first year. The star was current on 7th June.

24th January 1334=Regnal year Zero.

7th June 1334=Regnal year One.

Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I came to the throne between the 25th January and the 7th June 1334. His reign upto 1367 is known.

A record which comes from Iḍaiyar[34] indicate that Kaliyugarāman was the surname of Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya. Since there were two kings of the same name Mārvarman Vira Pāṇḍya, we are not in a position to identify the king who had the surname Kaliyugarāman. For the present we shall accept the report[35] and assign the surname Kaliyugarāman to Māravarman Vira Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334. This surmise will not do any damage or harm in the construction of the chronology. However if fresh evidence comes up in the future, the surmise is also to be revised in favour of that evidence.

known. The data of Kīḻvāram record also produce a date in the reign of Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341.

MARAVARMAN VIRA PANDYA II 1341—1388

Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between 8th May and 12th June 1341. He ruled till 1388. On Friday, the 12th September 1371 Vīra Pāṇḍya mentions the success of the Vijaynagara prince Kampaṇa uḍaiyār who established orderly government after destroying the Muhammadans. Vīra Pāṇḍya refers to this historical event in the record which comes from Tirukkallakkuḍi south of Madura. The records assigned to Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya are tabulated below.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
386/1913 Erumbūr	5, Siṁha, śu. 8, Saturday and Aṇurādha.	6th Aug. 1345 A.D.
406/1921 Tiruvaḍi	6, Miṇa, śu. 4, Saturday and Rōhiṇī (Jaṭāvarman mistake for Māravarman-see discussion).	17th Mar. 1347 A.D.
249/1956 Tiruvēndipuram	7, Kaṇṇi, śu. 14, Wednesday and Uttirāḍam mistake for Uttiraṭṭādi (see discussion)	19th Sept. 1347 A.D.
160/1906 Elavanāśūr	7, Tula, ba, Friday and Svāti	5th Oct. 1347 A.D.
281/1921 Attur	10, Kaṇṇi, śu. 2, Uttiram and Friday	3rd Sept. 1350 A.D.
277/,910 Tiruviḍandai	10, Tulā, śu. 1, Sunday and Svāti.	3rd Oct. 1350 A.D.
57/1903 Tiruvaḍi	14, Mīṇa, ba. 1, ,Saturday and Hasta.	28th Feb. 1355 A.D.
6/1922 Tiruvāmāttūr	15, Vriśchika, śu. 5, Monday and Uttiraṭṭādi mistake for Uttirāḍam.	9th Nov. 1355 A.D.
395/1909 Siddhaliṅgamaḍam	15, Dhanus, ba. 8, Saturday and Hasta.	26th Dec. 1355 A.D.
3!6/1925 Kīḻvāram	21, Tulā, ba. 13, mistake for ba. 11 or 12 Uttiram and Monday.	25th Oct. 1361 A.D.

Record-Village	Year, data and other details	Date
483/1963 Tiruvādavūr	25, Ṛishabha, ba. 6, Tiruvōṇam and Friday.	1st May 1366 A.D.
27 A/1903 Tiṭṭaguḍi	24, Mēsha, śu. 4, Wednesday and Rōhiṇī.	26th Mar. 1365 A.D.
64/1916 Tirukkallakuḍi	33, Kaṇṇi, śu. 3, Friday and Svāti (Refers to the success of the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa-uḍaiyār see discussion)	12th Sept. 1371 A.D.
Pd 451 Kōvilūr	33, Vaikāśi 29, Wednesday and Viśākha (king is called Vīrā Pāṇḍya; title Māravarman is absent)	24th May 1374 A.D.
Pd 453	44, Mithuṇa, ba, Thursday, Rōhiṇī.	16th June 1384 A.D.

On the basis of 483/1963 Tiruvōṇam in Ṛishabha of 1366 falls in the 25th year. Accordingly Tiruvōṇam in Ṛishabha of 1341 falls in the regnal year Zero. The star was current on 7th May. On the basis of Pd 453 Rōhiṇī in Mithuṇa of 1384 falls in the 44th year. Accordingly Rōhiṇī in Mithuṇa of 1341 falls in the first year. The star was current on 12th June.

7th May 1341 = Regnal year Zero.

12th June 1341 = Regnal year One.

Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II came to the throne between the 8th May and the 12th June 1341. Adanūr record Pd 454 belongs to Māravarman Vīra year 47. Probably his rule extended upto 1388. (The record mentions *vāḷāl vaḷi tirandāṇ paṇam* -a coin called after the surname of Jaṭavarman Parākrama of accession 1315).

Discussion

1. Tiruvēndipuram record 252/1956 is listed under Māravarman Vikrama. It is in year 7 dated 10th August 1343. It states that Periayadēvaṇ Amarakōṇ inherited lands from his father-in-law Nāyaka-perumāṇ as *Srīdhana* after the latter's death. Amarakōṇ did not pay the dues accrued on these lands from the 17th year of Perumāḷ Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva i e. from 1335 (the 17th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1318) to the 6th year and also the 7th year of Vikrama. Therefore Amarakōṇ sold some lands to pay the dues.

Tiruvēndipuram 249/1956 listed in the table belongs to Māravarman Vira II dated 19th September 1347. It repeats the above story and states that Amarakōṇ sold some more lands and cleared the dues.[36]

2. Tiruvaḍi record 406/1921 listed in the table is dated 1347. It introduces the king as Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya. I got the transcript from the office of the Chief Epigraphist and studied the text[37]. The internal evidence reveals that the title

Jaṭāvarman is a mistake for Māravarman[38] In this record the chief Mēyūr Miḷaiyaṉ Kiḻāṉ Maṉṟil Kuṉikkum Perumāṉ *alias* Dīpattarayan of Sōḻakulavallinallūr of Paṭṭaṉ Pakka-nāḍu in Naḍuvil-nādu *alias* Rāja Rāja Vaḷa-nāḍu figures Two signatories Kaṇṇamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ Teṉṉavarayaṉ and Siṟṟāru Poygai Kiḻāṉ Vēḷān Tiruvalañjuḻi-uḍaiyāṉ *alias* Saṅkarama Kēsarīmūvēndavēḷāṉ also figure

The chief Dīppattarayan with his full address and name figures in the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330 and Māravarman Vikrama of accession 1337. We have discussed those records under Sundara and Vikrama. The same chief figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record 99/1943-44 of Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya year 4 discussed under Māravarman Vikrama foot notes 6 to 8. Again the chief figures in the Chidambaram record of 320/1913 of Māravarman Vīra year 9.

Among the two signatories, the chief Kaṇṇamaṅgalam-uḍaiyāṉ figures in the Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram record 151/1904 of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344.

The other signatory Saṅkaramakēśarimūvēndavēḷāṉ figures in the Tiruvēndipuram record 137/1902 of Jaṭāvarman Sundara dated 1339. For further details please refer to the discussions made under Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330 and Māravarman Vikrama of accession 1337.

The chief Puttuḷāṉ Villavarayaṉ figures in the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330, Māravarman Vikrama of accession 1337 and the two Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍyas of accession 1334 and 1341. We have discussed this under Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330.

The Muhammadan invaders captured Madura and ruled there from 1323 to 1371. This is evident from *Madurai Tala Varalāru* and *Sthānikar Varalāru* discussed below. The Pāṇḍyas put up stiff resistance. From the year 1339 they started moving towards Madura. This is evident from Kāḷaiyārkōyil records dated 1339 and 1340 di cussed udder Jaṭāvarman Sundara of āccession 1330.

Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya of accession 1297 ruled till 1342. His Tiruppattūr record 120/1908 is dated 16th June 1342. The record states that the Muhammadans who occupied the temple were driven out. From this date the Pāṇḍyas gradually start moving towards Madura. The following records confirm this surmise.

Sakkōṭṭai is a village in the Tiruppattūr taluk of Ramnad district. In the inscriptions the village is called Sāykkaḷūr and the Śiva temple is called Vīrasēkari Īśvaram uḍaiyār. Three records which come from this temple attract our attention.

The first record (102/1946) belongs to Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I of accession 1334. It is dated year 14 Mārgaḻi first solar day corresponding to 28th November 1347. The record states that the chief Daṇmaṉ Kampaṉ *alias* Daṇmarāyaṉ made grants to the temple and also for providing offerings to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār (Vināyaka) set up in the temple by Alaṅkāra bhaṭṭan.

The second record (40/1947) belongs to some king year 9 Mārgaḷi 8. In view of the internal evidence this is to be

assigned to Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya II of accession 1341. The date of the record is 4th November 1349. The record refers to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār set up in the temple by Alaṅkāra bhaṭṭaṉ.

The third record (105/1946) belongs to Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II of accession 1314 year 37 corresponding to 1351. The record refers to the grants made by the village assembly for providing offerings to the deity Vikrama Vijaya Piḷḷaiyār set up in the temple by Alāṅkāra bhaṭṭaṉ.

In the last chapter we have seen the Kāḷaiyārkōyil record (578/1902) dated 1348 of Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya I. Tiruvādavūr record (483/1963) listed in the table belongs to Māravarman Vīra II and it is dated 1366. This village is east of Madura.

The village Tirukkallakuḍi (Ramnad district) is very near to Madura. Record No. 64/1916 of this village is dated Friday the 12th September 1371. In this record Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya states[39] that the Vijayanagara prince Kaṁpaṇa-uḍaiyār drove out the Muhammadans and established orderly Government. This agrees with the historical event. The earliest records of Vīra Kaṁpaṇa found in Ramnad district come from Tiruppullāṇi[40] and they are dated July 1371 and September 1371. *Madurai Sthānikar Varalaru*[41] states that Kaṁpaṇa drove out the Muhammadans and captured Madura in the Kaliyuga year 4472 corresponding to Śaka year 1293. The date falls in 1371.

Madurai Tala Varalāru[42] which is a prose introduction to *Madurai Tiruppaṇimālai* states that Kaṁpaṇa - uḍaiyār drove out the Muhammadan invaders and restored the worship in the Madurai temple after purificatory ceremonies. The poem *Mathurā Vijayam*[43] states that Kaṁpaṇa entered Madura after driving out the Muhammadans.

All put together it is a fact that Kaṁpaṇa captured Madura in 1371 and put an end to the Muhammadan rule.[44]

However there is one obstacle and it can be easily overcome. Coins bearing the Hijira year A. H. 779 corresponding to 1377 A. D., issued by the Sultan were found in Madura[45]. This shows that the Maduai Sultan continued to live upto 1377. This can be easily explained. According to Manu Dharma the enemy would be killed in the battle. If the enemy surrenders he will be allowed to live peacefully. Following the foot steps of Manu Dharma, Kaṁpaṇa allowed the last Sultan - who probably surrendered in the battlefield to spend the evening of his life in peaceful retirement. The tomb of the last Sultan exists even tody on the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam hill near Madura.

Notes :

1 Tāramaṅgalam *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 25.

2 Tāramaṅgalam *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII 24 and 23.

3 *S.I.I.*, Vol VII, 761. Please refer to E. I. Vol. VIII, page 278. Kielhorn suggested 23rd July 1255, He corrected the regnal year 10 as 9 and surmised that Jaṭāvarman Sundara II came to the throne

in 1276. In my book "The Imperial Pāṇḍyas" I have proved that there was no Jaṭāvarman Sundara with accession date 1276. Jaṭāvarman Sundara II came to the throne in 1277.

Also see page 306 of *E. I*, Vol. XXVII. Venkatasubba Aiyar equates the date to 24th July 1312 and identifies the king with Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1303. Aiyar further states that Vikrama who figures in this record attacked Mālik Kafūr in 1311.

The internal evidence of 137/1902 does not place the kings in 1311. Similarity of the names confused the earlier scholars. The record belongs to Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330 only.

150/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 170 assigns this record to Jaṭāvarman Sundara I of accession 1251. The internal evidence is against this surmise. The record is to be assigned to Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330 only.

A.R.S.I.E., 1943-45, Part II, para 20 rightly assigns this record to Pāṇḍya king. The arguments advanced by the report are convincing. But the report assigns the record to Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1251 and equates the data to 9th January 1269, the 17th regnal year of the king. It means that the king did not come to the throne till January 1252 whereas his accession date is 1251. The surmise of the report is to be revised in favour of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1330.

143/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 767.

144/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 768.

145/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 769.

151/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 171.

S.I.I., Vol. VIII, 177.

581 B/1902 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 174.

S.I.I., Vol. VIII, 178.

S.*I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 173.

S.I.I., Vol. XVII, 144. The report equates the data to 2nd February 1253 after correcting the star Uttiram as Uttirāḍam. The internal evidence is against this surmise. The record belongs to Vikrama of accession 1337 only.

Tīrthanagari 122/1904 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, 142.

Tiruvēndipuram *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 767.

Tiruvaḍi 52/1903 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 327.

Tiruvaḍi 53/1903 ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 328.

Tiruvēndipuram 99/1943-44-Māravarman Vīra II year 4.

A.R.S.I.E., 1943-45, part II, para 14.

I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh, the Chief Epigraphist who kindly supplied me the transcript of the record on my request.

Tiruveṇkāḍu *S.I.I.* Vol. V. 985 Māravarman Vikrama year 5.

23 Chidambaram 320/1913 Māṟavarman Vīra, year 9.

24 *A.R.I.E.*, 1955-56 page 6 last para—It makes a useful surmise.

25 I quote here three records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1318.

a) Nāmakkal 376/1940, year 5, Kaṟkaṭaka 13, ba. 11, Saturday. Rōhiṇī corresponding to 10th July 1322.

b) Vañji Nagar near Madurai 291/1973 year 7, Kaṉṉi 12, ba. 6. Rōhiṇī and Sunday corresponding to 9th September 1324.

c) Siṉṉamaṉūr near Madurai-437/1907 year 7, Makara 3, Pūrva-paksha, Friday and Mṛigaśirā corresponding to 28th December 1324.

d) All the three records are perfect in data and supply the solar dates also. They produce the above three dates only and confirm the existence of Jaṭāvarman Sundara of accession 1318.

26 Vikravāṇḍi 288/1915 regnal year lost.

27 *A.R.S.I.E.* 1917, page 92.

28 *A.R.S.I.E.* 1918 pages, 112 and 113.

29 *A.R S.I.E.*, 1918 Part II, para 55. The king was a contemporaray of Teṉkāśi Parākrama 1422-63.

30 *Indian Ephemeris*, Volume I, Part II, page III.

31 Iḍaiyār 282/1928-29 Māṟavarman Vīra, year 9.

32 *A.R.I.E.*, 1928-29, Part II, para 21.

33 *A.R.I E.*, 1955-56, page 6.

34 I am thankful to the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, who supplied me the transcript of the record 406/1921. I compared it with other records and found the truth. Most of the individuals who figure in this record also figure in 151/1904 (*S.I.I.* vol. XVII No. 171) of Jaṭāvarman Sundara year 14 corresponding to 1344.

35 Mistakes in the titles are not unknown in the Pāṇḍyan records. Such mistakes can be found with the help of internal evidence only. Let us see some records.

a) Tirunaḷḷār records 110 and 111 of 1969 belong to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara year 22. They mention *vāḷāl vaḷi tirandān paṇam* a coin called after Jaṭāvarman Parākrama of accession 1315. Evidently Kulaśēkhara mentioned here is Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara II of accession 1314 and the title Jaṭāvarman is a mistake.

b) Vṛiñjipuram record 177/1939-40 belongs to Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya Śaka 1239 regnal year 21 dated 5th February 1318. This is Jaṭāvarman Vīra of accession 1297. Māṟavarman is a mistake for Jaṭāvarman *(A.R.S.I.E.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, page 250).

c) Iḷayāttaṅkuḍi 34 and 38 of 1926 introduce the king as Māṟavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya. The data agree with 22nd March 1275 the 22nd year of the king. The title Māṟavarman is a mistake for Jaṭāvarman (Vīra I of accession 1253). The record states that the donor Ōmaḷagiyān alias Kaliṅgattariyan set up an image of Lord Vishṇu. The same donor figures in the same temple record 35/1926 of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara I year 39 corresponding to 1307 and it is said that the donor made some more gifts for services to the same image of Lord Vishṇu.

d) Kānūr record 378/1962 belongs to (Jaṭāvarman) Kulaśēkhara I and it contains the *praśasti pūvin kiḷatti* etc. But in the record the title Māṛavarvan appears instead of Jāṭavarman. Māṛavarman is a mistake for Jaṭāvarman.

36 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1916, Part II, para 33.

37 Tiruppullani records of Vīra Kampaṇa III/1903 (*S.I.I* Vol. VIII, 397) dated July 1371–106/1903 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 392) September 1371–114/1903 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 400) 22nd October 1374.

38 *Sentamiḷ* Volume V page 141.

39 *Sentamiḷ* publication No. 27.

40 Sanskrit poem *Mathurā Vijayam* – by Gaṅgādēvī the queen of Vīra Kampaṇa. *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom* edition 1972, K. A. N. Sastri.

41 Kampaṇa died sometime after 2nd October 1374. In the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record 573/1902 dated 17th December 1374 Jamunā states that his father Kampaṇa is no more.

42 We have coins of the last Sulan of Madura Alāudīn Sikandar Shah dated A.H. 779 corresponding to 1377, Brown, the Coins of India.

9 LAND RECLAMATION OF FLOOD-DAMAGED AND SAND-CAST LANDS-A STUDY IN PRICES, RENTALS AND WAGES IN LATER CHOLA TIMES (FROM A. D. 1070 to A. D. 1210)-BASED ON SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTIONS.

R. Tirumalai

A large number of inscriptions from about the 10th year 1080 A.D., if not earlier[1] to the 48th year 1118 A. D. of Kulōttuṅga-I from Śrīraṅgam temple record transactions of reclamation of flood-damaged and sand-cast lands, granted as *dēvadāna* to the Śrīraṅgam temple. The lands were mainly located in Kāraikkuḍi and Taṇḍurai villages in Viḷattūr-nāḍu (sometimes called Viḷā-nāḍu for short) and also in Kārkuḍi[2] and Mūṅgilkuḍi,[3] located on the South bank of the river Cauvery. The grants should have been made even as early as the first half of the 10th Century, if not earlier.

The process of reclamation had continued in the reign of Vikrama Chōḷa. But the intensity of effort and the extent involved appear to have diminished in his reign, if the quantum of evidence available is to be of any guide. Some parcels of land still left for reclamation in the south bank of Cauvery as in Chintāmaṇi area-which even today is liable to inundation when Cauvery is in floods-were taken up as late as in 1290-91 A. D[4] But the bulk of the reclamation work had been undertaken during the period 1070 to 1135 A D., in a span of about 65 years.

The reign of Kulōttuṅga-I had witnessed some scrutiny of administration of temple endowments[5] and noteworthy activity in land reclamation, with a view to augment garden and wet lands[6] Two land surveys were conducted, one in 1086 A. D., and the other in 1170 A. D.[7] Presumably, these should have brought to account additional extents of land fit for cultivation, or that were already under cultivation, but not brought to account. They could have also brought to light lands to be reclaimed and utilised for horticulture even if agriculture was not practicable.

In line with this process of land utilisation the reclamation of the *dēvadāna* lands on the south bank of the river Cauvery on an extensive scale is evidenced by a spate of records from Śrīraṅgam. Some inscriptions state that the lands were damaged due to the breach in the bund or embankment of the Cauvery river that had occurred some (*Uddēśam*) 100 years earlier. Others date the occurrence some 50 years earlier.[8] The lands were sand-cast, and over-burdened with earth ; here and there were depressions (*kuṭṭam*) and all were left uncultivated for ages. Where they were all cultivable, dry-crops like horse-gram and cotton were raised.[9]

From the reference to the Cauvery floods as having occurred some 100 years earlier we might infer that they should have occurred in the middle of the 10th century. Actually there was a big breach of the embankment of the Cauvery river in 937–938 A. D. As a result, the lands in the north-eastern part of Allūr village, also on the south bank of the river Cauvery, were sand-cast and damaged. A long

and painstaking reclamation activity bit by bit had been undertaken from the time of Parāntaka-I tapering off (to infer from the extant evidence) towards the end of the reign of Rājēndra–I[10].

The lands reclaimed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-I and after lie south-east of Allūr. The river flows in embankment and the channels taking off deflect sharply southwards, even today, which could indicate that the gradient or the contour slopes southwards. A narrow strip in between the river and the canal being on a high level-perhaps as much resulting from sand accretion due to floods as causing further damages to the lands lying south could have had the full impact of the velocity of the flood or flash-flows with movement of sand, even in the floods of 937-938 A.D., and could have got worsened by further deposits in subsequent floods.

LOCATION :

The lands damaged by floods and taken up for reclamation were in two *dēvadāna* villages-Kāraikuḍi and Taṇḍurai, endowed for kitchen provisions, and food offerings to the deity at Śrīraṅgam (*tirumaḍappaḷḷipuṟam*). Bulk of the lands fit for garden were recovered, including some suitable parcels for wet cultivation. The latter were allocated for providing sustenance and support to the gardeners. The gardens so laid were named after the donors or their principals.

From the boundary descriptions the two villages appear to be adjoining each other, almost lying cheek by jowl. To their east and south lay Gūḍalūr village[11] and to their west was the eastern boundary of Paḷuvūr.[12] Paḷuvūr boundary also extended to the north of the damaged lands.[13] The headmen of Paḷuvūr had reclaimed the lands to the west and to the southwest of a parcel reclaimed in Kāraikuḍi.[14] These were located in Viḷattūr-nāḍu or Viḷā-nāḍu in which the townships of Śrīraṅgam and Paḷuvūr lay. Śrīraṅgam was on the north bank, and Paḷuvūr on the south bank of the river. The 'nāḍu' had extended to either bank of the river Cauvery flowing in between. Paḷuvūr is identical with Pālūr in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi Taluk (village No.11),[15] Two natives of Kāraikuḍi have made land gifts for offerings in the temple at Paḷḷuvūr *alias* Rājēndra-Chōḷa-nallūr, and for singing *Tiruppadiyam* in that temple. [16] In the 39th year of Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga-I (A.D. 1109) at the instance of Chēdiyarāyan lands were gifted as *brahmadēya* to 108 brāhmaṇas in Paḷuvūr.[17]

Gūḍalūr can be identified as the hamlet of the same name lying south, south-east of Kāyakuḍi in Muttarasanpēṭṭai village limits (village No. 10) of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi taluk.

From these locational details, Kāraikuḍi could be identified as Kāyakuḍi, a hamlet lying west-south of Muttarasanallūr. The flood-damaged lands were then lying west of the present Elandavāttalai channel, taking its bend sharply to the south and in between the Cauvery river bank and the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-Karūr highway on the north, and Guḍalūr hamlet to the south. The Karur highway had its Chōḷa precursor in the Koṅguperuvaḷi mentioned in some inscription as the northern boundary of the sand-cast lands.

The total extent of land as far as can be computed from the available data, taken up for reclamation in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-I alone was 55 *vēli* (about 350 acres). In the subsequent reigns of Vikrama Chōḷa and his successors, another 8¼ *vēli* or about 55 acres were sold for reclamation. The recorded evidence accounts in all for about 400 acres of flood-damaged lands sold for reclamation (Appendix-I). The total period during which this reclamation activity was in progress had extended from about 1080 to 1209 A. D., in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-III, a time spread of about 130 years.

The lands taken up for reclamation in the reign of Vikrama Chōḷa lay closer to the Koṅguperuvaḷi, lying to the north of the lands to be reclaimed.[18] It could be inferred that the reclamation work had proceeded from the southern end to the north upto the river-bund. The plots sold for reclamation were often contiguos to the plots already under reclamation or just taken up for it.[19] The plots taken up earlier for reclamation for laying a garden called 'Guṇavalli' in the 25th year of Kulōttuṅga-I 1095 A. D. figured as the boundary for another allocated for reclamation some 15 years later in 1110 A.D. The vendee in the latter case appears to be connected with the vendee in the former.[20] Invariably, plots given as southern boundaries were already reclaimed lands held as gardens or as wet-lands. The density of sand deposit could have been less at the southern end with the velocity of flow lessening and hence they were comparatively easier to reclaim, and were taken up earlier. The more difficult areas were to the north Reclamation had proceeded from the south-east to the north-west.

In the later years of Kulōttuṅga-I, the plots sold are surrounded more often by the already reclaimed plots (*viḷāgam*) endowed as gardens or as wet-lands for maintaining the gardens. In Vikrama Chōḷa's reign the Koṅguperuvaḷi and Jayaṅgoṇḍa - vāykkāl occur as the southern boundary of two parcels.[21] As already stated, the Koṅguperuvaḷi was the precursor of the Tiruchirāpaḷḷi-Karūr trunk road running along the Cauvery river bank. The Jayaṅgoṇḍa-vāykkāl and the cultivated lands (*viḷai nilam*) of Taṇḍurai occur as the southern boundary in a few cases[22] and in others as northern boundary,[23] or both.[24] The Cauvery bund and Koṅguperuvaḷi occur as the northern boundary of the plots to be reclaimed.[25] These are clear indications that reclamation was being taken up in Vikrama Chōḷa's reign, i.e., in the first half of 12th century, in the lands nearer the channel-heads and the river-bund and the highway on the northern extremities.

The lands had belonged to the deity of Śrīraṅgam and were *dēvadāna* in tenure for meeting the kitchen expenses and the food services. They were so damaged by floods and sand-cast that they could not be utilised for any wet cultivation, generally, but only gardens could be raised for the supply of flowers and occasionally also of fruits to the temple. The reclamation work consisted of levelling the lands, digging and depressing the level and raising garden crop. The smaller plots for wet cultivation were far and few between and were far less in extent.

The lands for reclamation were assigned or sold under the orders (*ēval*) of the *Śrīkāryam Adhikārigaḷ*, the executive officers of the temple[26] The actual deed

was drawn up and attested by six members of *Śrī Vaishṇava vāriyam* (a committee of Śrī Vaishṇavas attending to the temple affairs) together with six other members of *Śrī Bhaṇḍāra vāriyam* (the committee supervising the temple treasury), the *Śrī Vaishṇava kaṇakku* (the accountant for the body of Śrī Vaishṇavas), and the *Sabhā kaṇakku* of Śrīraṅgam (the accountant of the *sabhā* or the township organisation of the resident landholding brāhmaṇas of Śrīraṅgam)-in all about 16 persons including the temple accountant. This bespeaks for the care taken to ensure the collective responsibility for administering the temple lands and public knowledge that was enjoined, of the conclusions of such transactions, when they were reduced to writing. It is noteworthy that the organisation of the brāhmin towship of Śrīraṅgam as such (the *sabhayārs*) whose exstence is referred to as in No. 29, or of the townships in which the *dēvadāna* lands were located did not figure in the documents, though the sabhā accountant of Śrīraṅgam was a signatony therein.

The transcations are described as *aḍai ōlai*, or assignment or entrustment for reclamation. The full land value does not appear to have been realised, but only a fee (*tiruttaḍai* or *aḍaippukkūli*)[27] or *tiruttuvilai*)-or price for reclamation of land or *nila-vilai*[28] the land price for reclamation. The standard rate for such price was 1 *kāśu* per *vēli* (or 6-60 cents) of land. Consideration seems to have been paid to the reclamation cost, and expenses and hence the concessional price of 1 *kāśu*.[29] If the land was already reclaimed (*paḻan-tiruttu*), the rate was doubled, at 2 *kāśu* per 1 *vēli*.[30]

Some idea of the exchange value of *diramam* to a kāśu could also be had as it had obtained in the 40-42nd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-I. 220 *diramam* were paid for 4 *vēli* of land in Kāraikkuḍi which were sand-cast. (11.20-21 of No. 93). One *vēli* then was priced at 55 *diramam*. If the lands were identical with other sand-cast lands sold for reclamation--as they appear to be from the rate of rental fixed at 8 *kalams* per *vēli* as for dry lands - 55 *diramam* could be taken to be the exchange-equivalent for 1 *kāśu*, the normal price taken for such lands sold for reclamation.[31]

The persons to whom the lands were entrusted were not themselves the cultivators, but were the benefactors or the donors. There is a distinct reference to the actual tenders of the garden, or those in-charge of it, Some of whom might have, themselves, been the gardeners providing their own labour. These were the *dāsars* or the non-brāhmin Vaishṇavite devotees of the temple. Some others were temple service holders. The temple authorities themselves cited the persons who were to be incharge of the garden in the sale deed often.[32]

The responsibility of those undertaking the reclamation was to apply their capital, engage labour, remove the sand and earth, depress the level and make the lands fit for raising flower-gardens or orchards. They could also cultivate where feasible the lands with wet-crops and appropriate the paddy for the maintenance and wages of the labour engaged in attending to the garden. where this was not feasible, alternative parcels already under wet cultivation or suited therefor were purchased or assigned.

A rental *(kaḍamai)* (in lieu of assigned revenue) of 8 *kalams* per *vēli*, a rate prevailing as for dry-lands, was stipulated to be paid by the reclaimer to the temple, the *dēvadana* land-holder. Exceptionally, it was specified at 7 *kalams*[33] or at $7^{3}/_{4}$ *kalams* per *vēli*.[34] Half of this quantum was to be delivered at the temple after the first crop was harvested and the other half after the second.[35] The rate was again concessional. It is sometimes termed as dues for *svāmi-bhōgam*, or the share due to the land-holder[36].

The residual part of *iṟai* (*iṟai-migudi*),[37] that is of the assigned land dues from the lands, was to be utilised for maintaining the gardeners or the tenders of the orchards.

Where composite sales had occurred, comprising cultivable wet-lands and reclaimed dry or sand-cast lands, the total grain dues as *iṟai* have been fixed at a higher level. The excess over 8 *kalams* per *vēli* was perhaps attributable to the yield-share from the wet-lands.[38]

Sometimes, the garden proper was located at Śrīrañgam island. But the lands for the support of the gardeners and the maintenance of the garden (*tirunandavanappuṟam*) were sold from out of the sand-cast lands, on the south bank of the river, in Taṇḍurai[39]

In some cases, the rental was stipulated to be delivered in the form of flowers,[40] or a portion of the fruit-yields were claimed.[41] The excess over the *Kaḍamai* was utilised in some cases for special offerings to the deity,[42] or for feeding Śrī Vaishṇavas, or for special festivals and in one case for running a dairy (*Surabhi–viḷāgam*). The rate of levy was higher for arecanut grown on the river *paḍugai* than for the arecanut grown on the dry up-lands (No. 123).

In a few cases, a moratorium of five years or less was provided,[43] so that the actual process of reclamation might be completed and the lands brought to beneficial yield within that period. During such moratorium, the full yield was allowed to be appropriated by the reclaimer himself (*muṟṟūṭṭu-uṇḍu*).[44] The payment of the *iṟai* at the optimal level was postponed to a crop year after the expiry of the moratorium to synchronize with the time of full yield. The labourers or the gardeners were given the hereditary occupancy rights on the land for themselves and their heirs (*vargattār*). But there were instances when the gardens endowed were ineligible for sale or for making usufractory mortgage of and if these were transgressed the vendees who acquired the garden were to forfeit their acquired property rights.[45]

LABOUR AND WAGES :

The labour provided for reclaiming the lands (?) and mantaining the gardens generally worked out at one person for $^{1}/_{2}$ *vēli* (3 acres and 30 cents).[46] This should be taken as the requirement for maintenance. The actual reclamation of the land would have required a lot more of labour to be deployed.

The wages for the gardeners were normally one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day, per head plus a capital deposit of two gold *kāśu* (*Poṟ kāśu*) per head, the proceeds of which were adequate for the annual clothing to the supplied.[46] From 10·0 A D. or so, this cash deposit for annual supply of clothing (*puḍavai mudal*) became reduced

to I *kāśu*. If a rate of interest of about 20% to 25% were to be presumed the yield of 0.4 or 0 5 *kāśu* was adequate for the annual supply of clothing - of a dhoti or two per labourer per labourer per year. Sometimes, the grain component of wages was higher at *kuruṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* per head.[47] The labourers (*kuḍi*) were free from the obligations attached to the tenantry or the cultivators - of (a) contributing free labour (*veṭṭi*) or (b) physical labour at the palace or the temple and such obligations; sometimes they were even relieved of the obligations (c) to keep a watch over the river bund (*kulaikāppu, kāval*) and (d) to contribute labour for strengthening the earthwork embankment for Cauvery river and (e) for clearing the channels (of silt) at the time of freshes and (f) to put up a Korombo work across the river to divert water into the supply channel. But these were not uniform. Specific reservation of the obligations (c), (d) and (e) had been made. These were enjoined in a few cases, on the cultivators and garden tenders despite the arduousness of the reclamation work and maintenance.[48] The maintenance of the security of the river embankment and clearing the channels of silt were of paramount importance and could not admit of any indifference.

The progress of reclamation and the course of the direction it had been taking as gleaned from the inscriptional evidence has already been delineated. Portions of the lands already reclaimed or under enjoyment were excluded, six *mā* in one case, and the charge was on the remaining nine *mā* and *mukkāṇi*. If an earlier assignee had not reclaimed the land or did not require it, the parcels were resumed and granted to another. In the instant case, the stipulation was 200 lotuses were to be supplied daily (*nittam*) to the deity at Śrīraṅgam. To maintain the labour engaged in picking and supplying them the excess over the rentals or *kaḍamai* had to be utilised The 2 *mā kīḻarai* of wet-land was priced at 6 *kāśu*; the 9 *mā* of garden land cost only 1 *kāśu*–in all 7 *kāśu*.[49]

SECTION-II

Inscriptional evidence throws up interesting data on the comparison of the level of price of paddy, and of the wages and the changes that had occurred therein during this period.

PRICES OF LAND :

The price of land sold by Śrīraṅgam temple from out of the *dēvadāna* grants could be compared with the private sale of lands in the same location. Secondly, the land-values of *dēvadāna* lands situated on the south bank, and those on the north bank of the Cauvery river would also be revealing.

PRIVATE SALE AND DEVADANA SALES :

In the 45th year of Kulōttuṅga-I, A.D. 1115, a Brahmin lady, the wife of . . . . Tāya-nambi-pirān and daughter of an Āthrēya-gōtra Brāhmin, Dāmōdaran Nārāyaṇan, by name Śrī Āṇḍāḷ Śāni, sold for a big garden 6 *mā* of land in several parcels to some Śrī Vaishṇavas, including Tiruvēṅgaḍa Pichchar and another. (The location of this land is unfortunately not available in line 10 of the published epigraph) The price was 23/80 *kāśu*, i. e., it works out to almost one *kāśu* per *vēli*.[50]

Sales of other lands in different locations are set out in Appendix-III. It

could be inferred that the prices of garden lands of *dēvadāna* tenure on the northern bank of Cauvery, especially so within Śrīraṅgam island, were higher, particularly when there was a well within, which could be of avail for baling water in summer months. The price gets weighted if there were yielding trees in the garden lands. Of course, the wetlands were far more valuable then the garden lands. The flood damaged sand-cast lands on the south bank, extensive as they were, were priced at one *kāśu* per *vēli;* regard being paid to the reclamation cost. The possible recurrence of such floods could also be a damper.

In 1156 A. D. Kōdai Ravivarman, the Kēraḷa ruler, donated cash for a lamp-service. There was reluctance explicitly stated that if the cash were invested on land, when the lands were damaged, the service could not be kept up. But if the cash was deposited in the temple treasury, the proceeds could be utilised for permanently maintaining the service.[51]

WAGES THROUGH THE AGES:

Some idea could be formed of the wage level for the gardeners during the Chōḷa times, from the time of Uttama Chōḷa to the reigns of Kulōttuṅga-I and Vikrama Chōḷa and Rājarāja-III and also, for comparison, the wages obtaining at Chidambaram some 120 years later during the time of Kōpperuñjiṅga. They are tabulated in Annexure-V. The inferences are as follows: The ratio of a supervisor to the number of workers had varied from 1 : 17 to 1 : 24. The dairy attendants got wages in between a gardener and a supervisor, in terms of clothing, though the grain wages were the same, or sometimes higher.

There was a rise in wages from the time of Uttama Chōḷa to the first part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-I (i.e., 1090 A.D.). The wages in terms of capitalisation for the supply of clothing had however, halved from the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga-I(i. e., from 1090 A.D.) and the trend had continued during Vikrama Chōḷa's time. Both grain wages, and capital requirement for annual clothing supply had got doubled form that level some 120 years later, i.e., 1246-60 A D.[52]

It could be inferred that from 1090 A.D., the interest yield on one *kāśu* was adequate to procure the requisite clothing for the gardener; prior to that date double that quantum was necessary. Logically, either the interest rates which was usually as high as 20-25 percent should have doubled for the deposit quantum to come down to half. Alternatively, the price of cloth should have come down to half. It is not conceivable that the supply rate of clothing could admit of 50 percent reduction. Of the two possibilities, the price of cloth should have altered more favourably for the consumer, perhaps due to better availability and production. This trend had continued in the reign of Vikrama Chōḷa as well. The cloth price should have risen to its earlier level by the middle of the 13th century.

MOVEMENT OF PRICE OF PADDY:

A third economic trend is them ovement of paddy to *Kāśu* ratio and it can be viewed in juxtaposition with the trends in wages. The number of *kalams* sold per *kāśu* that can be gleaned from inscriptions

is set out in Annexure-V. The following inferences are plausible:

The paddy was cheaper in Uttama Chōḷa's time (*10 kalams*) than in the time of Rājarāja-I and his successors including Vīrarājēndra (*8 kalams*) This seems to be the case even in the southern parts of Chōḷa empire in Rājarāja's time where 7 *kalams* could be had for one *kāśu* at Gaṅgaikoṇḍān (Tirunelveli District.)[53] In the heyday of the Chōḷa empire, paddy-availability per *kāśu* was far less than in the earlier or the later periods. By the reign of Kulōttuṅga-I, paddy could be had at the same level (10 *kalams*) per *kāśu* as in Uttama Chōḷa's time. In the later half of his reign, it was even cheaper (13 *kalams*) than in the earlier half, in some locations as at Ālaṅguḍi (Thanjavur District). But by 12̄9 A. D., $1^1/_2$ times the quantum of paddy could be had per *kāśu* (15 *kalams*) than what was obtainable in the earlier half of Kulōttuṅga's reign. Strangely, grain was cheaper at the time of the decline of the Chōḷas than in their hey-day. The season and crop condition, and availability of grain in any particular year and specific locality would account in part for this fluctuation, and unless these details are filled in, the contours of economic trends are apt to be puzzling.

Making allowance for all possible variables, it still stands out that at a time when paddy was cheaper at percent in the mid 13th-century, the wages had doubled. Wages had increased even at times when the price of paddy had declined to the consumers' advantage The former had occurred despite or should we say, because of the latter. The increase in grainwages generally from 986 to 1131 A. D. was from 6 *nāḷi*, to 8 *nāḷi*, a rise of 33-1/3 percent, if one could compare the rates in Chiṅglepul and in Thañjāvūr ; perhaps in 986 A. D. labour was cheaper in Kachchipēḍu (Kāñcipuram) than in Thañjāvūr, but in the Cauvery delta and the riverine tract, they were constant at one *kuṟuṇi* per day. It had occasionally increased also (1½ *kuṟuṇi*) to 12 *nāḷi* perday in the period 1070 to 1098, but had settled at one *kuṟuṇi* again from 1099 to 1131 A D. In the mid 13th century, grain wages have increased by 100 percent, when paddy prices had got depressed by 50 percent. Cheaper grain availability would not necessarily guarantee a concomitant lowering of wages. If grain-*kāśu* ratio was elastic, so were the wages ; not merely in terms of grain, but the interest yield required for annual supply of clothing. The price of cloth seems to harden at a time when grain availability was cheaper in the mid 13th-century a trend which was somewhat of a contrast in the mid 12th century

While paddy prices had become further depressed, the cloth prices had increased as between the periods 1090 to 1135 A.D. and 1246-60 A.D. The price per unit of supply in terms of interest yield on cash deposits had doubled. In any event, a gardener in the mid 13th century should have been better fed, but not better clothed than his counterpart at any earlier time. On the whole, a long stability in wage level had continued from 978 to 1090 A D. The wages had somewhat become cheaper thereafter for about half a century. But about 125 years later, the wage levels had risen sharply, almost doubled.

These are pointers to the areas for

further investigation into the economic trends of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya times. The composite and complex economy of the times had a substantial part of the transactions made in grain, and it would imply grain perfoıming the function of money. Could it be, then, that if grain was cheaper, wages would have risen, not commensurately, but even more elastically ? Was it because the grain was cheaper though, but demand for labour was far more, the rate of increase in wages for labour had been higher than the rate of decrease in the price of paddy? Only further patient collection of data and analysis can provide answers to these questions.

ANNEXURES

Annexure I. The extent of land reclaimed and the names of *śrikāryam* Officials.

Annexure II. The extents of land reclaimed in Śrīraṅgam, and the number of workers and the wages.

Annexure III. Prices of land sold at different dates and locations.

Annexure IV. Wage levels in the Cauvery-Coleroon delta at different periods.

Annexure V. Price-movement of paddy.

Note.

The date marshalled in Section II are necessarily based on sampling of available data, and .as such are subject to the limitations inherent in such sampling. These limitations are sought to be mitigated, to some extent, by drawing the sampling data from a restricted localised area with homogeneous trait-characterestics. The data, as presented, are hence pointers to some tendencies and at this stage the inferences should be treated as hypotheses, subject to further detailed check with fuller data, if they can be had from identical source-material. In any investigation, it follows, the stage of formulation of hypotheses could well be a cross-road with even contradictory or subaltern possibilities being met with.

It will be the endeavour of the author to pursue the detailed check of data as well, as part of his intensive research into the history of the townships.

Annexure-I

TOTAL EXTENT OF RECLAMATION SALES EVIDENCED BY THE SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTOINS AND THE CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SRIKARYAM OFFICIALS

Reference to inscription no in *S. I. I.*, Vol. XXIV	Reign - date	A. D.	Extent	*śrikāryam* Official
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
27	Kulōttuṅga I Yr. N.A.	N.A.	1½ *vēli*	Ilakkantiṟattu Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭan

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
28	Kulōttuṅga I (6) cultivable land (*viḷai nilam*)	1076	9-3/80 *mā* 2-1/640 *mā* (*6 kāśu*)	Nishadarājar -do-
29	-do- Yr. N.A.	N.A.	1¼ *vēli*	N A.
30	-do- -do-	N.A. (1.9)	1¼ *vēli* ¾ *sēy.*	Dēvar Vēḷāris orders
31	-do- N.A.		½ *vēli* 3 *mā*	N.A.
32	-do- N.A.	N.A.	1¼ *vēli*	Adhikārigaḷ Ārkāṭṭu . . . .
33	-do- N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
34	-do- N.A.	N.A.	½ *vēli* wet-land 1/8 vēli (1.9)	Mūvēnda-vēḷār
35	-do- N.A.	N.A.	1 *vēli* 14½ *mā*	(Nārāya)ṇa Bhaṭṭar
36	-do- N.A.	N.A	1½ *vēli*	*Srīkāryam* Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar
37	-do- N.A.	N.A.	1 *vēli*	N.A.
38	-do- N.A.	N.A.	5/8 *vēli*	N.A.
39	-do- N.A.	N.A.	¾ *vēli*	N A.
42	-do- N.A.	N.A.	2 *vēli* (1.11)	N.A.
44	-do- N.A.	N.A.	2 *mā*	Nishadarājar
49	-do- yr. 13 (?)	(1083)	N A.	Śīriḷaṅgō Bhaṭṭar
51	-do- yr. 10	1080	1½ *vēli*	
54	-do- yr. 13-14-231 day)	1084	2 *vēli*	Karipuṟattu Anantanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar
55	-do- y. 13	1083	1½ *vēli*	Karipuṟattu . . . .
58	-do- 15	1085	6 *vēli*	Nishadarājar
59	-do- 15	1085	1 *mā*	Nishadarājar

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)
61	Kulōttuṅga I	15	1085	½ *vēli*	Adhikārikaḷ Nishdarājar
62	-do-	15	1085	1 *vēli* & 2½ *mā*	
64	-do-	19	1089	2 *vēli*	Karipurattu (Nārāya)ṇa Bhaṭṭar
65	-do-	20	1090	1 *vēli*	Adhikārikaḷ Viravichchādira Mūvēndavēḷār
67	-do-	21	1091	1 *vēli*	Chōḷa śikhāmaṇi
68	-do-	22	1092	½ *vēli*	(Ī)śvara Kulakāla Brahma mārāyar
69	-do-	24	1094	1¼ *vēli*	Adhikārikaḷ Vīra Chōḷa Mūvēndavēḷār
72	-do-	25	1095	½ *vēli* + ½ *mā*	Rājēndra Mūvēndavēḷār
77	-do-	31	1101	1½ *vēli*	Ālattūruḍaiyār
78	-do-	32	1102	1½ *vēli*	
79	-do-	32	1102	2 *vēli*	
83	-do-	38	1108	7/1 *vēli*	N.A.
84	-do-	39	1109	NA	Neḍuñjērikkuḍaiyān Bulvani Nārāyaṇa mūvēnda-vēḷān
85	-do-	39	1109	½ *vēli*-1 *mā*	Adhikārikaḷ Bhuvani Nārāyaṇa Mūvēndavēḷān
86	-do-	40	1110	1 *vēli*	Nārāyaṇa Mūvēndavēḷān
87	-do-	40	1110	½ *vēli*	Vichchādira Mūvēnda-vēḷān
88	-do-	40	1110	¼ *vēli*	Neḍunjērikkuḍaiyān Bhuvani Nārāyaṇa Mūvēnda-vēḷān
91	-do-	41	1111	4 *vēli*	Pārthivēndra Brahmādi-rājan

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)
92	Kulōttuṅga I yr.	41	1111	1¼ *vēli*	Pārthivēndra Brahmādi-rājan
93	-do-	41	1111	4	-do-
95	-do-	41	1111	3½ *mā*	
96	-do-	42	1112	½ *vēli*+ 2 *mā*	Pārthivēndra Brahmādi-rājan
98	-do-	42	1112	2½ *vēli*	Sabhā sold the land
99	-do-	43	1113	6 *mā*	Talaichcheṅgāḍu Śiriḷangō Bhaṭṭar
100	-do-	44	1114	N.A.	Adhikārikaḷ Nittavinōda mū (vēndavēḷān)
102	-do-	44	1114	¼ *vēli*	Nittavinōda mūvēnda vēḷār
103	-do-	45	1115	¾ *vēli*	N.A.
104	-do-	45	1115	6 *mā-kālē araikkaṇi*	N.A.
108	-do-	48	1118	6 *mā*	N.A.
110	Vikrama Chōḷa				Pulivalam . . . . .
111	Vikrama Chōḷa	3	1211	1 *vēli*	Visayālaya Viḷupparayar
112	-do-	3	1121	¼	-do-
113	Vikrama Chōḷa	8	1126	1 *vēli*	. . . Vaḷava nārāyaṇa Mū-vēnda vēḷār
114	-do-	8	1126	3 *mākāṇi*-8 *kāśu*	Both are same transaction.
115	-do-	8	1126	3 *mākāṇi*-North of Cauvery	Private transaction.
116	-do-	10	1128	2 *kāśu*= 2 *vēli*	N.A.
117	-do-	10	1128	—	(puli . . . ?) Pulivalam uḍaiyān vēlār Tiruvāykkula-muḍaiyān *alias* Vaḷava nārāyaṇa mūvēndavēḷān

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)
118	Vikrama Chōḷa, yr.	12	1130	1 *vēli* (1.53) ¾	Rāja vichchādara Brahmādirāyar Naravichchādara Brahmādirāyar
119	-do-	13	1131	1 *vēli* (1.20)	-do-
120	-do-	15	1131	¾	Naravichchādara Brahmādirāyar
121	-do-	15	1133	N.A. (*kāśu* 40)	Tiruvāla nāṭṭu Mānāḍuḍaiyār
122	Vikrama Chōḷa	16	1134	about 7½ *vēli*	private sale in Allūr-Tiruvaḍakkuḍi
123	Kulōttuṅga II	7	1140		For planting arecanut and coconut - confer 147, Kulōttuṅga II
124	Kulōttuṅga II	11	1144	(1000 *kuḻi* = ½ *vēli*) north of Cauvery-south Tiru Vēṭṭaikkeḷundaruḷum Tiruvīdi	The street by which the deity passes for the hunt·
126	Rājarāja-II	11	1157	2 *mā* *kāśu* 1700	
146	Kulōttuṅga III	32	1210	15 *vēli*= 15,000 *kāśu* 1 *vēli* = 1000 *kāśu* 1000 *kāśu* = 1 old *kāśu* (?)	Including land in Taṇḍurai Kāraikuḍi (6)
152	Rājarāja III	32	1216 (acc.)	2½ *mā*= 15000 *kāśu*	North-east of Tiruvaraṅgam

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)
153	Rājarāja III	21	1237	400 *kuḻi* 4 *mā*+2 8 *mā*= 20,000 3 *vēli* of land for maintenance = 30,000 @ 10,000 per *vēli* 10000 = 1 *vēli* ?	Sōmala-dēśigar 50000 kāśu for garden and for land for the maintenance of gardens. In. Tirukkūṟai paṟṟu Ten-noḻukku.

COMPARISON OF RATES OF LEVY OF ARECANUT AND PLANTAIN :

SII., 123, Kulōttuṅga II, 7th year (1140 A.D.)—

Kaḍamai	Arecanut :		
(i) in river-bed	1st year	per tree	100
(Agāvāṟṟil)	2nd year		200
	3rd year		300
	4th year		400
(ii) *Kollai*	head		80
	2nd		120
	3rd		240
	4th		300

15 for 1000 . . . . .

SII. 147., 35th year of Ku. III (1212 A.D.)

Per *vēli*

Paddy

1 *vēli* - 100 *kalam* each x 2 crop

"*vambu* payir" - 50 *kalam*

(unsetted cultivation)

Reclaimed year = ¼

2nd year ½

3rd year ¾

4th year Full

Kamuku = 2000 trees per vēli ;

400 nuts per tree

Vēli = 3,000 plantain.

mango trees=2 *kāśu* per *mā*

coconut trees=2 *kāśu* per *mā*

Annexure-II

THE EXTENT OF LAND RECLAIMED IN SRIRANGAM, NUMBER OF WORKERS, WAGES

No.	Extent	No. of persons	Paddy	Wages cloth-capital	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
27	1½	3	*Kuṟuṇi* per day per head	2 *kāśu* cloth capital	
28	9-3/80 *mā*	2	*kuṟuṇi*, 4 *nāḻi*	2 *kāśu*	For collecting flowers
30	1¼ *vēli*	2	*kuṟuṇi* per day	2 *kāśu*	Reading in 1. . .10 as per *tūṇi* 2 per year appears to be wrong ; should be per day.
31	½ *vēli* ; 3 *mā*	2	*kuṟuṇi* per day per head		
32	1¼ *vēli*	3	unclear		
36	1½ *vēli*	3	*kuṟuṇi* per head	2 *kāśu*	
51	1½	3	4 *kuṟuṇi*		
54	2 *vēli*	4 2	*kuṟuṇi* 4 *nāḻi* *kuṟuṇi* 4 *nāḻi*	2 *kāśu*	For work in diary gardens
55	1½ *vēli*	2	*kuṟuṇi* for 1	2 *kāśu*	
64	2½ *vēli*	5	N.A.	2 *kāśu*	
67	1 *vēli*	N.A.	*kuṟuṇi* per head per day	1 *kāśu*	
72	1½ *mā*	—	N.A.	1 *kāśu*	
77	1 *vēli*	4	N.A.	1 *kāśu*	
83	7/8 *vēli*	3	*kuṟuṇi* per head per day	1 *kāśu*	
88		4			
91	4 *vēli* (32 *kalam* @ 8)		N.A.	1 *kāśu*	
92	1¼	3	—	1 *kāśu*	
96	½ *vēli*-2 *mā*	2	—	1 *kāśu*	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
99	6 *mā*	2	*kuṟuṇi* per head	1 *kāśu*	
102	½ *vēli*	2	*kuṟuṇi*	1 *kāśu*	
108	6 *mā* 6 *mākāṇi*	1 (?)	*kuṟuṇi*	1 *kāśu*	
112	[illegible]		*kuṟuṇi*	1 *kāśu*	1 *kāśu* = 10 *kalam*
119	1 *vēli*	3	1-1-1/3 *nāḻi*	1-1/6 *kāśu* (3½ *kāśu* for 3)	
121	N.A.		*kuṟuṇi*		
124	½ *vēli*	5			
153	8 *mā*	4	*Mukkuṟuṇi*	But no cloth capital indicated	

Average worker can take ½ *vēli* for maintenance of gardening ?

Annexure-III

LAND-PRICES IN SRIRANGAM

Sl. No. (*SII.*, Vol. XXIV)	Reign and Date	Location	Classification	Extent	Price	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
104	Kulōttuṅga I, 45 1115 A.D.	N.A.	Garden	6 *mā*	*kālē-mukkāṇi kāśu*	Private sale by a brahmin lady
107	-do- yr. 47 1117 A.D.	Tiruvaraṅga-nallūr	wet-land	7½ *mā*		
		Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam	*kāḍu nilam*	4 *vēli*	2 *kāśu*	Temple sale
108	Kulōttuṅga I, 48 1118 A.D.	Kāraikuḍi-Taṇḍurai (?)	Garden to be re-claimed	6 *mā*	6 *mākāṇi kāśu*	-do-

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
114	Vikrama Chōḷa I yr. 8 (1126 A.D.)	In Śrīraṅgam Island- (*Teṉṉāṟṟukku vaḍakku*)	Garden fully established	3½ *mā*	8 *kāśu*	private sale
115	-do-	(also with a well)	(A fully reclaimed well laid garden land).			
122	Vikrama Chōḷa I yr. 16, 1134 A.D.	Tiruvaḍakkuḍi (a *brahmadēyam*) forming part of Allūr.	Wet land (1 *vēli*=240 *kāśu*)	1/16 *vēli*	15 *kāśu*	Private sale
124	Kulōttuṅga II, 11th year 1144 A.D.	Within Śrīraṅgam island	For laying a garden.	1000 *kuḻi*= ½ *vēli*	30 *kaḻañju* of gold	Temple sale.
126	Rājarāja II 11th year 1157 A D.	Within Śrīraṅgam island- *Tirukkūṟaip-paṟṟu* - *Vaḍa voḻugu* (northern side)	Already established garden	200 *kuḻi*= 2 *mā* (Deposit for gardens 13 *poṉ*)	17000* *kāśu*	Private sale
134	Kulōttuṅga III yr. N.A.	Within Śrīraṅgam island	-do-	50 *kuḻi* =½ *mā*	N.A.	Private sale for plantain and coconut planting)
146	-do- yr. 32, 1210 A.D.	Lands both within Śrīraṅgam island and in Taṇḍurai and Kāraikuḍi sandcast waste lands.	Some laid gardens others to be reclaimed	15 *vēli*	15000* *kāśu*	Could it be the old gold *kāśu*=1000 new *kāśu* ?
152	Rājarāja III yr. 8 f. 1 (1225 A.D.)	*Tirukkūraip-paṟṟu* in Śrīraṅgam	Already established garden	2½ *mā*	10,500 *kāśu*	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
153	Rājarāja III 21st yr. 1237 A.D.	*Tirukkūraip-aṟṟu* – southern side towards west	Garden already laid	400 *kuḻi* : 4 *mā* x 2 8 *mā*.	20,000 *kāśu*	
			Wet-land for maintenance of gardeners.	3 *vēli*	30,000 *kāśu*	
156	Rājarāja III 23rd yr. (1239 A.D.)	*Tirukkūrai-paḍi oḻugu*	Garden	2 *mā*	8¾ *kāśu*	
160	Rājarāja III 26th yr. 1242 A.D.	*Tirukkūraip-aṟṟu* - northern side.	Garden	Kōl. 2	1000 *kāśu*	
191	Pāṇḍya Māṇābharaṇa	*Tirukkūraip-aṟṟu* southern side	Garden	2 *mā*	10,000 *kāśu*	Private sale
208	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II 1290-91 A.D.	Aḻagiyamaṇa-vāḷa chatur-vēdimaṅgalam	Garden	1000 *kuḻi* = ½ *vēli* plus 800 *kuḻi* plus 700 *kuḻi* = 1500 *kuḻi*	200 *paṇam* for 1000 *kuḻi* 120 *paṇam* for sandywaste.	

Note : As already set out in the text, invariably the sand-cast flood damaged lands in Kāraikuḍi and Taṇḍurai on the south bank of Cauvery river were sold at 1 *kāśu* per *vēli* in the time of Kulōttuṅga I and Vikrama Chōḷa, for reclamation.

Annexure-IV

WAGE LEVELS FROM THE TIME OF UTTAMA CHOLA TO KOPPERUNJINGA AT DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN THE COLEROON-CAUVERY DELTA.

Date	Location	Wages in Kind	Cash Deposit	Remarks	Reference
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Uthama Chōḷa 8th year 978 A.D.	Kōnērirāja puram	one *kuṟuṇi* per day including clothing	Nil	(6 *nāḻi* for food ; 2 *nāḻi* for clothing ?)	*SII.*, Vol. III, 151-A

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Uttama Chōḷa 14th year 984 A.D.	Gōvinda-puttūr (near Uḍayār-pāḷayam)	one *kuṟuṇi*	1 *kāśu*	One woven fabric : ¼ *poṉ*. At 25% interest. 1 *kāśu* could give ¼ *poṉ* for clothing.	*SII.*, Vol. XIX, 357 XIX, 380
Parakēsari, 15th yr. 985 A.D.	Sembiyanmā-dēvi.	Price of cloth : 3 pieces : 3-3/20.			
Parakēsari, 16th yr. 986 A.D.	Madras Museum plates Kachchi-padi	6 *nāḻi*	1 *kaḻañju* for 2 or 1 *kāśu* for clothing	1 *kāśu*=7¼ *narakkan* ¼ *kāśu* per *puḍavai*	III No. 128
Kulōttuṅga I 1070-98 A.D. (pl. see Annex. II)	Śrīraṅgam	1 *kuṟuṇi* (occasionally 1 *kuṟuṇi*, 4 *nāḻi*)	2 *kāśu*	Please see Annex. II for details.	
Kulōttuṅga I and Vikrama 1090-1131 A.D.	Śrīraṅgam	3 *kuṟuṇi*	1 *kāśu*		
Rājarāja III year (21) 1247 A.D.	Śrīraṅgam	3 *kuṟuṇi*	No cash deposit for cloth		
Koppēruñjiṅga* 1246–1260 A.D.	Chidambaram -do-	*Padakku* 3 *kuṟuṇi* *Padakku*	2 *kāśu* 3 *kāśu* 1½ *kāśu*	For supervision and garden planting (No. 56) Diary attendants (54)	

Ratio of supervisors to workers had varied from 1.17 to 1.22.

*For details, please see below :

CHIDAMBARAM

Reference	Year	work-force	per day Paddy	cloth	Each Rate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
SIII., VIII 53	3rd year, 81st day 1246 A.D.	48 workers 9 supts. —— 50 1 supt. : 24 workers. ——	*Padakku* 3 *kuṟuṇi* per day	1 *kāśu*=15 *kalams* 2 *kāśu* 3 *kāśu*	for funding per individual

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
54	3rd year 1246 A.D.	1 shepherd for 150 cows	*Padakku*	1½ *kāśu* funding	
55	16th year 1259 A.D.	95 workers 5 supts. 19 workers per superintendent	*Padakku* 3 *kuṟuṇi*	2 *kāśu* 3 *kāśu*	
56	16th year 228 day 1260 A.D.	34 workers 2 *nāyakam* 2 garden planters 38	*Padakku* 3 *kuṟuṇi* 3 *kuṟuṇi*	2 *kāśu* 3 *kāśu* 3 *kāśu*	

Annexure–V

PRICE MOVEMENT OF PADDY

Reign and Period (1)	Location (2)	Price Movement (3)	Reference (4)
Uttama Chōḷa 984 A.D.	Gōvindaputtūr (Tiruchirāpaḷḷi)	10 *kalams* per *kāśu*	*SII.*, XIX, 357
Rājarāja I 1006 A.D.	Tiruppugalūr (Thanjavur Dt.)	8 *kalams* per *kāśu*	68 of 1928
Vira Rājēndra 5th yr, 348th day 1069 A.D.	Tirumukkūḍal (North Arcot Dt.)	8 *kalams* per *kāśu* (16 per *kaḻañju*)	182 of 1915
Kulōttuṅga I Date N.A.	Śrīraṅgam (Tiruchirapalli Dt.)	10 *kalams* per *kāśu*	XXIV–44
Kulōttuṅga I 47th yr, 1117 A.D.	Ālaṅguḍi (Thanjavur Dt.)	13 *kalams* per *kāśu*	*SII.*, IV, 44 of 1891
Vikrama Chōḷa 3rd year 1121 A.D.	Śrīraṅgam (Tiruchirapalli Dt.)	10 *kalams* per *kāśu*	XXIV–112

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15th year 1133 A.D.		10 *kalams* per *kāśu*	*SII.*, Vol. XXIV-121
Kōpperuñjiṅga 1259 A.D.	Chidambaram (South Arcot Dt.)	15 *kalams* per *kāśu*	*SII.*, Vol. VIII, -15.

Note: The Caveat has to be entered that *kāśu* denoted different values at different times but circumstantial evidence could support more or less our equivalence. Please see f.n .52 in the text.

Notes :

1. In all about inscriptions. In quite a few inscriptions, the date is lost or is not available.
2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 54
3. *Ibid.*, No. 55
4. *Ibid.*, No. 208
5. For *e g.*, please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 1356, Tiruveṟṟiyūr
6. Pl. see *ARSIE.*, No. 201 1919: Tribhuvani; *ARSIE.*, 1922 No. 404 Madurāntakam; of 1922 *ARSIE.*, 224; Tennēri; *S.I.I*, Vol. V, No. 436, Tirunelvēli.
7. *"The Chōḷas,"* Vol. II, pt. i, p. 51 (1937 Edn)-K.A.N. Sastri.
8. No. 38 for e.g.; No. 54 gives it as 40 years. These should be taken to indicate that the lands were lying waste and unreclaimed for long and not specifically for tne number of years. The numbers refer to *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV.
9. *Ibid.*, No. 59.
10. On this please see the author's detailed study "Allūr and Īsānamaṅgalam Re-visited" in *"Svasti Śrī,"* Dr. Chhabra. Felicitation Volume (1984) (Agam Prakasham, Delhi). Allūr is a village, just two miles north-west of Kāraikuḍi lands belonging to Śrīraṅgam temple.
11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 102 Line 11.
12. *Ibid.*, No. 64, Line 12.
13. *Ibid*, No. 64 Line 13.
14. *Ibid.*, No. 72.
15. *ARSIE.*, 1918, No. 346-352
16. *Ibid.*, No. 358 Parakēsari - 3rd year.
    Ibid., No. 349 - Rājakēsari - 6th year.
17. *Ibid.*, No. 350 - One Karumāṇikkam Āditta Dēvan *alias.* Chēdiyarāyan had a land assigned to himself in Kāraikuḍi village, the *dēvadāna* of Śrīraṅgam temple in the 40th year of Kulōttuṅgal (1110 A.D.). Please see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 88.

18. Pl. see *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 111, 112, 113. Some plots lay even further north of the highway and to the north of Kāraikuḍi habitat. Pl. see No. 120.

19. Pl. see the boundaries in No. 85. On the eastern boundary of the plot sold, a land was already under reclamation. On its south, a parcel had already been reclaimed. On the west, there was wet-land held by the potters. On the north lay the river-bund of Cauvery.

20. Pl. see Nos. 72 and 87, ibid.

21. *Ibid.*, 119

22. *Ibid.*, 99

23. *Ibid.*, 39

24. *Ibid*, 65

25. *Ibid.*, Nos. 111, 3rd year of Vikrama Chōḷa 1121 A.D. 113, 8th year of Vikrama Chōḷa 1126 A.D.; 119, 13th year of Vikrama Chōḷa 1130 A.D.

26. These executive officers appear to have been officers appointed by the king and were frequently changed, unless there were more than one officer simultaneously in-charge. Their tenure appears to be for about 1 or 2 years at a time. Persons of the same name could be noticed again after an interval and if they were identical they had been resposted after a a break. The officers are either styled *Brahmādirāyan* (Brahmin) or *Mūvēnda Vēḷān* (other than Brahmins). A tabulated statement of officers from the 10th (1080 A.D.) to 44th year (1114 A.D.) of Kulōttuṅga I and from the 3rd to the 15th year 1114 A. D. of Kulōttuṅga I and from the 3rd to the 15th year of Vikrama Chōḷa 1121 to 1133 A D. is provided in Annexure I. It will be an interesting study if we could have an analysis of the change in incumbency, their tenure and their reposting and to trace the same officer's postings elsewhere. Likewise, it will be interesting to study the composition of the committees, and the incumbency and get at their tenure the frequency of rotation of the same members and the identity of the persons composed in the committees over the corresponding periods.

27. *SII.*, Vol. XXIV, No. 59.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, No. 77.

29. A price of one *kāśu* for 1/2 *vēli* in No. 72 and 87 appears to be exceptional.

30. *Ibid.*, No. 59. The four parcels totalling 1 *vēli* sold at 2 *kāśu* in No. 119 also appears to be of this category as some of the lands were readily cultivable.

31. *SII.*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 91 and 93.

32. *Ibid.*, Nos. 77 and 83.

33. *Ibid.*, No. 32,

34. *Ibid.*, No. 86, 65

35. *Ibid.*, No. 68.

36. Line 12, No. 55; also No. 54

37. *Ibid.*, No. 86

38. *e.g.*, No. 35—the text has a number of gaps and hence this should only be treated as a surmise.

39. No. 39. *e.g.,* No. 119.

40. Please see No. 33. The inscription is damaged.

41. *e.g.,* Nos. 29, 123 Kulōttuṅga II - 7th year. The garden Tirukkūṟaipaṟṟu appears to be located within Śrīraṅgam island. Also No. 147, No. Kulōttuṅga III, 34th year.

42. See Nos. 39, 59, 111 and 30 for *Surabhivriṭāgam* (l. 9)

43. *e.g.,* No. 69, line 9; also No. 64

44. *e.g.,* No. 31.

45. *SII.,* Vol. IV, No. 512. Even as early as in the 4th year of Rājakēsari, the *Mahasabhā* of Śrīraṅgam prohibited those who left the township (*irandār*) and no longer resident therein from holding, cultivating and enjoying the *dēvadāna* and garden lands. Any transgression was visited with a fine of 25 *Poṉ* to be severally paid by the members of the committee (*vāriyam)* and the accountants *(SII.,* Vol. IV, No. 516*).*

46. Vide Annexure II.

47 No. 28.

48. e. g., *ibid;* also Nos. 33, 38, 39 and 55. Please see the wording *"Kolai-kappu, sennīr veṭṭi allādu maṟṟēppēr paṭṭuduvum tavirndu".* *Korombu* is added in Nos. 99, 111, among the obligations to be rendered.

49. e. g., No. 28.

50. *Ibid ,* No. 104.

51. *Ibid.,* No. 125.

52. The argument assumes that the *kāśu* occurring in the inscriptions of different dates had identical value, an assumption which is not without hazards and could hence be a weakness. This could hence be a weakness. This could bear a check. But circumstantial evidence could lend support to this assumption. At any rate, so far as the grain-wages are concerned, this possible weakness could not vitiate their comparability.

The *kalam,* if not the *kāśu,* could more confidently be taken to convey the same value when used to express daily wages, but not the *paddy kāśu* nexus, as both the units of measure and of currency could vary from area to area and time to time. The need is hence the greater to attempt a detailed history of the economic conditions from reign to reign and from period to period within the same reign, and region to region. For even within such periods there are fluctuations and short-term changes in the same reign.

53. *SII ,* Vol. V, No. 724.

10 CHANDAVARA INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA BIRADEVARASA

M. D. Sampath

In recent years a number of inscriptions have come to light from North Kanara District, Karnataka. The existence of as many as five inscriptions in close proximity to one another at Chandāvara in Honnavar Taluk of North Kanara District was of considerable importance during the Kadamba times. It was the headquarters of a branch of the Kadamba family. The earliest of these lithic records is a slab inscription lying in the compound of Māsurker's house in the village Chandāvara.[1]

Before taking up the discussions on this important inscription, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for his kind permission to publish the record in the pages of this journal.

The writing consisting of forty eight lines in all is well preserved but for the last few lines. The language of most part of the record is Kannaḍa verse and prose and the script is Kannaḍa comparable to those found in the records from the neighbouring places in the Kumta and the Honnavara Taluks. They are regular to the period to which they belong. At the beginning of the record there are two Sanskrit verses in *Anushṭubh* metre.

The epigraph contains a few orthographical errors. *Sū* is written for *Śū* in *husivarasūla* (line 11). The omission of aspirate in the case of *b* in the week day of the date portion (line 33) may be noted here.

The record opens with an invocatory verse in Sanskrit invoking god Nṛisiṁha.

The epigraph refers to the Śaka date in words. The term used is *nūṛa-nālvatt āṛaneya*. It is, obvious, that *'Sāvirada'* is omitted. For, the palaeography and the internal evidence definitely takes the record to the period of 13th century. It refers to the rule of chief Bīradēvarasa of the Kadaṁba family and is dated in the Śaka year [1*]146, the cyclic year being Svabhānu, Chaitra śu. 11, B[h*]ṛiguvāra. These details of date do not work out satisfactorily in the preceding or succeeding year. In the given cyclic year the *tithi* occurred on 13th April 1223 A.D., the week-day being Thursday and the month Vaiśākha. The cyclic year Svabhānu falls in the Śaka year 1146 which was current. But the Christian date noted above might be taken as the intended date.

The object of the record is to register the grant of lands by Kādaṁba-chakravarti Bīradēvarasa for the daily food-offerings to the deity Paripūrṇa yōga-Nṛisiṁhadēva consecrated by Kīrti Nārāyaṇa on the above date. It also records the grant of lands by Nāraṇa daṁṇāyaka, made after purchase, for a price-value, from the different families of *gāyigas* (cowherds) for the purpose of *aṁga-raṁga-bhōga* of the same god. The last portion of the record is damaged and hence, details are

not clear. The extant portion states that the guilds like *mumuridaṁḍa*, *nānādēsi*, etc., of [Banavā*]se-12000 divison stipulated that a fixed measure from any corn sold in the market was to be made over for the food-offerings to the deity.

The record happens to be a royal grant and the donor chief Bīradēvarasa is described with a long string of epithets and titles (11. 7-13), some of which are significant. The assumption of high-sounding title *chakravarti* proves beyond doubt that the chief must have enjoyed an independant status. Just as the other members of the Kadaṁba lineage, the ruler of the present record is stated to have borne a number of epithets, like *Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara*, *Kādamba-chakravarti*, *Mayūravarmma-kulabhūshaṇa*, *Kaḍaṁbar-ābharaṇa*, *Jayantī - Madhukēśvaradēva labudha-varaprasāda*, etc. He was a devotee of god Mahābala of Gōkarṇa (*Gōkaraṇa Mahābalēśvara - divya - śrīpāda-padm-ārādhaka*). This ruler is further described as *parabaḷa-sādhaka*, *huśivaraśūla*, *chaladaṁka Rāma*, *nigaḷaṁka - malla*, *gaṁḍara - dāvaṇi*, *kaligaḷa-mogada-kai*, *subhaṭa-chūḍāmaṇi* and *satyōkti - kāminīlōla*. The titles *Kaḍambarābharaṇa*, *Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara*, etc., seem to associate the chiefs including Bīradēva with the Kadaṁbas of Banavāsi. The existence of a branch of the later Kadaṁbas of the Banavāsi stock who ruled from Chandāvara, contemporaneously with the members of the main line holding power at Banavāsi is referred to in a number of lithic records that are coming from Kekkār, Kuṁṭa, Haḷdīpura, Mallāpura, Kōnaḷḷi, Aunsaḷḷi, Hebbāranakeṟe, Guṇḍbaḷe, Chandāvara, Aṅkōla, etc. in the taluks of Kumta, Ankola and Honnavara of North Kanara District.[2] Taking into consideration the several names referred to in different epigraphs from the aforesaid places, Panchamukhi has stated that the Kadaṁba family of Chandāvara was ruling from Śaka 1000 to 1146 over the Honnāvar region.[3] This family is represented by about twenty-two inscriptions besides the new ones recently copied from Chandāvara. The records from Guṇḍbaḷe which gives the genealogy of Mallidēva commencing from Chandra I are stated to have been dated in Śaka 1065. He was ruling over Haive-500, Koṅkaṇa-900, Banavāsi-12000 and Sāntaḷige-1000 divisions on this date from his camp (*neleviḍu*) at Siriyāra.[4]

The record from Kaṇagil[5] in Ankola taluk mentions the rule of Śivachitta Tribhuvanamalla. The date and other details are lost. In a damaged inscription from Aṅkōla,[6] figures, three other Kadaṁba chiefs of which one is named Basavidēvarasa who was administering over Haive-500 division. The name of the second chief is Kali[dēvarasa] while the name of the third is lost. These chiefs are also found bearing the same titles as the ones borne by Bīradēvarasa of the present record. More noteworthy title which the chiefs figuring in the Aṅkōla record had, is the epithet *trilōchana Kadaṁ[ba*]*. This record which is not far removed by date from the date of Chandāvara record now under study is also in characters of early 13th century. The connection between the chiefs Kalidēvarasa, Basavidēvarasa and the other whose name is lost cannot be made out for the present. The unknown ruler has been identified with Mallidēva.[7] It is quite likely that this chief was the son of Malla

or Tribhuvanamalla and grandson of Kāma II who is referred to in the Guṇḍbaḷe record[8] Further, the Aṅkōla record refers to a Kāvadēva whose identity is not clear. The area Hoṁnāvara referred to here was probably being ruled by this chief. If this is accepted, we will have to presume that the administration of this new territory appears to have been held by Kāvadēva, while Chandrikāpura was the camping place of Bīradēvarasa whereform the earlier members of this branch of the Kadaṁba family started ruling. Honnāvara was, therefore, never lost to anyone and reoccupied at any time as held by Panchamukhi.[9] The details given in the Aṅkōla record at this juncture can neither be ignored nor the details can be made out. However, it may be suggested that the chiefs seem to have had a joint rule.

It is interesting to note that the record from Chandāvara mention the names of three chiefs viz , Kalidēvarasa, Bīradēvarasa and Vīra Kāvadēva.[10] Of these, the two records of Bīradēvarasa are earlier in point of date, while the date of the records of Kalidēvarasa and Kāvadēva are little later. The hero-stone record[11] of Bīradēvarasa found in a field in the above place is dated in the year Bahudhānya, Chaitra śu 5, Thursday corresponding to 1219 A.D., March 21, f.d.t. .37. It states that he proceeded against Mallidēva of Gutti and in the course of a cavalry fight at Sūḷiyakeṟe, a hero named Sāleya-nāyaka died. Not much is known about this ruler who ruled from 1219 A.D. to 1223 A.D.

The next member of this family figuring in a record from Mogṭa, Ankola Taluk is Śivachitta Vīra Kāvadēvarasa.[12] This is dated in the third year of his reign. This year along with other details of date, Vijaya, Phālguṇa śu. Pāḍya, Wednesday correspond to 1234 A.D., February 1. It is obvious, therefore, that he started his reign from 1231 A.D. Though the titles *pañchamahāśabda*, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *mahāmahēśvara*, etc , are indicative of the subordinate position of the Kadaṁbas to the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya rulers, Kāvadēva started using his own regnal year. The gap between the last date of Bīradēvarasa and the accession date of Kāvadēva is just eight years and hence, Kāvadēva may be considered as the successor of the former. But their exact relationship is not clear. That this chief (Kāvadēva) ruled for a period of 56 years[13] i.e., till 1287 A.D. is known from some other record.

The only record of Kāvadēva that is available from Chandāvara is dated in the 10th year of his reign.[14] Taking 1231 A.D., as the date of his accession, his 10th year would correspond to 1241 A.D. It is tempting to suggest that the Nāraṇa-daṁṇāyaka or Kīrtinārāyaṇa of our record is identical with his namesake figuring in the record of Kāvadēva. It is not difficult to be sure about this identification, for the records referring to them are coming from one and the same place i.e., Chandāvara. On the other hand it may be suggested that this *daṇḍanāyaka* continued to serve under Kāma (Kāva) dēva also, atleast for about two decades after the rule of Bīradēvarasa. The territory of Chandāvara no doubt continued to be under the sway of the Kadaṁbas of this branch.

The principality that formed the territory of Kāvadēva included an area

of five miles south-east and ten miles north of Kuṁṭa in Kumta Taluk, the strip of west coast in North Kanara District and portion of the Sagar Taluk in Shimoga District.[15] These geographical references are known from the records of Gōkarṇa plates of Kāmadēva and of his namesake of the Kambaḷikoppa inscription.[16]

Of the two ancestors of this Kadaṁba *viz.*, Vīra and Taila, the latter is met with in both the records while the former Vīra is known only from the Gōkarṇa plates dated Śaka 1177 (1256 A.D.).[17] It is known from this plate that the grandfather of Kāma was Vīra, a king who established his command on the heads of multitude of kings. It was from the place Chandāvura that Kāma, the donor of the plate also ruled. It is tempting to identify the Bīradēvarasa of our record with that of his namesake, the grandfather of Kāmadēva of the Gōkarṇa plates. The nearness of data, the place of his capital and other details does not stand in the way of establishing this identification.

In addition to the details known already, the record of Bīradēvarasa dated Śaka [1*]146 (1223 A.D.) gives an additional information that Kīrtinārāyaṇa was born to Sōma and Chaṁdrāṁbike. Also he was a *brāhmaṇa* belonging to Āṁgīrasa-Gautama-gōtra.

In the present record Bīradēva is described as Vīrabhūbhuja. As a great warrior, he styled himself as Ravi's son, as Kēcharādhipa and as Bhārgava's son in valour, in enjoyment and in truth. The verse describing thus is an example of *Śabdālaṁkāra*. He had truth as his banner. Another verse states that he was very powerful in binding the nerves (*naravaṁ*) and the intestines (*karuḷa*) of the enemies with twisted braide. The next *slōka*, of which the second half is little defaced, also praises his fame. That this was not at all a tall claim of Bīradēva is proved by the praise showered upon his general Kīrtinārāyaṇa in a fine Kannaḍa verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

We further learn that, to substantiate the claim alluded to in the preceding verse in Kanda metre, he donated lands for the purpose of food-offerings to his tutelary deity Nṛisiṁhadēva. He is stated to have sent word to the *gāyigas* (cowherds) of the different families (the names of which are given) and got their lands in full settlement (*mūla-parichchhēdav-āgi*) after paying the money (*arthamaṁ-koṭṭu)* towards its value. The same which was in their possession or enjoyment was gifted to the deity as stated above. The boundaries of the gift lands and the channel excavated by the *daṁṇāyaka* are specified. The names of the families (*baḷi*) of the *gāyigas* viz., *jādiya-baḷi*, *bekāraṇa-baḷi*, *sirikuva-baḷi*, *kunyāḷuvanā-baḷi*, *hoṁneya-hoṁna-baḷi* and *tailanāyaka-basavaṇa-baḷi*, which are hitherto unknown, are of social interest.

TEXT[18]

[Metres: Verses 1-2 Anushṭubh; 3-5 Champakamāla; 6-7 Kaṁda; 8 Śārdūlavikrīḍita].

1 Śrī Paripūrṇa nṛikēsariṇē namaḥ[1*] nity-ānamdamayam vaṁdē paripūrṇa nṛikēsarim Lakshmī kucha-

2 yugōllāsi vakshēsam bhakta rakshakam ॥ [1*] Namas = tumga-śiraś-chumbhi(bi)-chamdra-chāmara-chāra-

3 vē [।] trailōkya-nagar-ārambha mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē ॥ [2*]

4 [Samadhi]gata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda mahā-mahēśvaraṁ tryaksha-kshmā saṁbhavaṁ chatur-āśīti nagar-ādhishṭi-

5 tam lalāṭa lōchanam chaturbhuja jagad-vidit-ā[pā]-daś-āśvamēdha-yajña-dīkshā-vīkshitam-himavad-gi-

6 īmdra-[rumdra] bhujaga saṁsthāpita śilā-stambha baddha madagaja mahā śrī mahimābhirāma Kā-

7 daṁba-chakravartti Mayūravarmma-kulabhūshaṇa pemmaṭṭi tūryya nirgvō(nirghō)śa(sha)ṇam śākhācharēmdra-dhvaja

8 virājamāna māṅ-ōttumga simhvalāmchhanam dattārtthi kāṁchanam samara-jaya-kāraṇam

9 Kaḍambhr-ābharṇa(raṇa) Banavāsipuravar-ādhīśvaram Jayamtī Madhukēśvara-dēva-labu(b)dhavara-prasādam mā-

10 rkkoḷuvara-gamḍa gamḍabamḍāṛa(na)n-ajjanasimga sāhasōttumga sahaja mṛigamad-āmōdam Śrī Gōkarṇn(karaṇa)-

11 Mahābaḷadēva dibya-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhakam parabaḷa sādhakam husivara-sūla(śūla) chaladamka-Rāma niga-

12 ḷamka-malla gamḍara-dāvaṇi kaligaḷa-mogada-kai subhaṭa-chūḍāmaṇi satyōkti-kāmini-lōlaru-

13 m=appa Śrīma[t*]-tribhuvanamalla-pratāpa vīra-Bīradēvarasara vijayarājyam-uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi pravaraddhamā-

14 nam-āchamd=ārkka tārambaram Chamdrikāpurada neleviḍi-noḷu sukha-samkattrā-vinōdadim rā-

15 jyam-geyvuttamire ॥ husivara-sūla(śūla)n-emdu nigaḷamka-mahīpatiy-emdu sadugu(dgu)ṇā [।*]vasata Kaḍaṁban-emdu

16 sale satya-patāke nṛipēmdran-emdu baṃ [।*]ṇnisuvud-iḷātaḷam parte(ri)du gamḍara-dāvaṇi-yam parāmganā[।*] byasa-

17 na-vidūranam negaḷda vīranan-āhavaramgadāvanam ॥ [3*] Ravijane Kēcharādipane Bhā-rggava putrane vīrad-ē-

18 ḷgeyoḷu(ḷ) । Ravijane Kēcharādipane Bhārggava putrane bhōgad-ēḷgeyoḷu(ḷ) । Ravijane Kēcharādipane Bhārggava pu-

19 trane satyad-ēḷgeyoḷu(ḷ) Ravijane Kēcharādipane Bhārggava putrane vīrabhūbhujam ॥ [4*] duradoḷirchchid-am-

20 nya narapāḷara homnaravam karam-gaḷim । purikoḷvam (ḷuvan)-negam hosedu mup-purigūḍida dāmavalliyo-

21 [ḷu](ḷ) । karuḷa hiṇilu(lva)gaḷam samedu mūḷeya gūṭaman-āḷenaṭṭukēḷu(ḷ) । bīramda-raneyde bamdisane gam-

22 ḍara-dāvaṇi vīrabhūbhujam ॥ [5*] nīre vitāna tāre paritavatiya didrājagēmdrādi rāhum nāthā tumga-

23 baṇi nāmgga hanamiti gṛihaiśvaryya āryya vichāryya bhāmimnyā bhū āribētyā nija-pati . ramā samprayō-

24 . . . dā chitkāle ku[rbba]śinaiva sana jaghana bhūrbham[gu]raḥ pūrttam-ēva ॥ [6*] tadīya rājya samuddhārakam

25 Kīrtinārāyaṇa-damḍanāthana mahatvanamnte (vam-emte) [m*]daḍe ॥ amit-ōdāra-guṇa kaḷānidhi vi[śi] shṭ-Āmgī-rasa-

26 sya-Gautana-gōtram dvija-rājan-ātmajankam Sōmam ॥ sut-āmnvayōttame Chamdrām-bike yenalu ॥

27 Nārāyaṇam [tā]ne puṭṭi mahīchakram-anuddharippen-enutam Nārāyaṇam puṭṭidam ॥

28 dhāriṇi puvitram-ādudu । vārijasambhavan sapti sapta[ta] veḍāyti । chāruguṇa mam-trimam-

29 ḍana । Nārāyaṇa nimdavemdaḍē mahatvam ॥ [7*] jñānāmbhōnidhi yōgivṛimdatiḷakam samśuddha chidrū-

30 pi ni । tyānamdaprabhu sā(śā)śvatam matu nij-ārādhyam mukumdam sure । drānikār-chchita pāda padma[rya]-

31 gan-āḷdam Bīradēvaṃ dhari । trītnātham tanagemdoḍem piriya[nā]-sat-Kīrttinārāya-ṇam ॥ [8*]

32 ā mahānubhāvam tamma kuladeyva Paripūrṇna(ṇa) yōga-Nṛisimhadēvaram sakavar-shada nūṛa-

33 nālvatt-āṛaneya Svabhānu samvachharada Chaitra su(śu)ddha yēkādaśi bri(bhṛi) gu-vārad-amdu pratishṭe-yam

34 māḷvudum-ādēvara nitya naivēdyakke śrīmatu Bīradēvarasar-ādēvara baḍaga-dese ye-

35 raḍu haḷḷad-eḍeya tamḍasina . . ṇadēvargge dhāreya neṛadaru ॥ mattam Nāraṇa-dam-

36 ṇāyakar-ādēvara amga-bhōga-ramga-bhōgakke vē[vā]ḍikekāra gāyigar=appa [jā]diya baḷi-

37 ya bekāraṇa-baḷiya bēḍiverggaḍe sirikuva-baḷiya kunyāḷuvanā-baḷiya hom

38 neya homma-baḷiya tailanāyaka - basavana-baḷiya māḷachanimti-inibarumam kareyal-aṭṭi

39 y-avarūra holana māreya begaḷiya keḷage temkaṇa-sīme moraḍi paḍuvaṇa-sīme huḍu-

40 kitiya haḷḷa vāyabyada-sīme haḷḷada kūḍalu baḍagalu yiśānya pariyamta damṇāya-karu ka-

41 ṭṭisida nīruvariya vaḷimēre āgirdda samasta bhūmiyan-ā gāyigarig-artthamam ko-

42 ṭṭu mūla-parichchhēdav-āgi mārugomḍa mū . ra kaiyal-ādēvargge varayi.

43 . . birimda dhāreya neṟasidaru ॥ Chamdāvurada . . . gaḷu biṭṭa dharmma gā . . . . .

44 [Banava*]se pannirchchāsira gūḍikomḍu sakala mumuridamḍa nānādēsi . . . .

45 . . . . pēṭheyal-āvadhānyav-aḷadaḍam koṭṭa varalō . . . . . .

46 . . . . . kiya mēle dēvara nivēdyake yippāna[ya] . . . .

47 . . . . . ra nivēdyake voppāne [ya] . . . .

48 . . . . sahita . . . . . .[19]

Notes :

1 A.R.Ep.; 1980-81, No. B

2 *Prog. of K.R.I. Province*, 1941-46, Pts. I and II, pp. 6-7.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

4 *Ibid.*

5 B. R. Gopal : *Minor Dynasties of South India : Karnataka*, p. 75 ; *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 77.

6 *K.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 78.

7 *Minor Dynasties of South India : Karnataka*, p. 75.

8 *Prog. of K.R.I.*, 1941-46, p. 7.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *A.R.Ep.*; 1980-81, Nos. B.

11 *Ibid*, No. B.

12 *K.I.*; Vol. VI, No. 76.

13 B. R. Gopal : *Ibid.*, p. 75.

14 *A.R.Ep.*, 1980-81; No. B.

15 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 160.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

18 From Ink impression.

19 *Macron* over *m* wherever required has not been used in the text of the inscription [Ed-]

11. HYDERABAD PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDARAJA VIHARA

P. V. Parabrahma Sastry

In the eastern out skirts of Hyderabad city in Andhra Pradesh, on the right bank of the Musi river, a Prākṛit inscription has come to light recently, It is incised on a big boulder, below which on the wall of a small cavity a carved image of the God Narasiṁha, locally known as *Kosaguṇḍla Narasiṁhasvāmi* is being worshipped. The inscription has been noticed about five years back; but owing to the rough nature of the rock and light incision of the letters, no good estampage could be taken and it was descarded as useless. But again the residents of that locality, called Chaitanyapuri reported the matter to the Director of State Archaeology, Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry. With the kind assistance of his staff members and the temple trustees I re-examined the inscription in situ and prepared a tentative transcript of it, which along with my observations I place before the scholars.

The letters belong to the late Brāhmī type and although big in size, about 10 to 15 cms., the incision is very light. The record runs into six lines. It is about three metres high from the ground on the hillock. It is interesting to note that there is yet anothar record in four lines, at a still higher part of the boulder, which is inaccessible. The letters exhibit certain features of northern Brāhmī. The letter *la* is very similar to that of the Gupta records, which resembles *na* of the late period in the southern letters. It is also noticed in the Allūru Prākṛit inscription[1] of *C.* second century A D. The letters of the present record although basically belonging to that variety, are more developed particularly *ta*, medials *a* and *ē*. *Anusvāra* is represented in the form of a small cipher as in some northern records of the period, as against the usual southern practice of denoting it by a dot or the class nasal (eg. *pāṁḍahul - āvāsam*, l. 1; *piṁḍapātika* l. 3; *paraṁpara* l. 4; *saṁgha Gōviṁdarāja* and *gaṁdha*, l. 5; *saṁvāsa*, *dharaṁ* and *thāpitaṁ* l. 6. Another feature seen in the record is that the *anusvāra* is written by means of a dot not on the top of the letter on which it should be but on the top of the preceeding letter. The bottom of the letters *ka* and *ra* is terminated with a small curved bend to the left but not elongated upwards as in the southern script of third century onwards. The medial *i* is just a crescent-like curve facing the left on the top of the letter. The letters *ka*, and *ra* and medial *i*, thus exhibit a marked difference from the Ikshvāku letters. They resemble those of the Allūru inscription. In the last part of line 5 one *ka* seems to be just a vertical line with the horizontal bar above the middle and the small serif at the top. This resembles almost the northern *ka* of the fourth century.

TEXT[2]

1 Purimavi[ḍā]la Pāḍaṁhulāvāsaṁ[3] puḍhagiri[4] mahā-
2 vihāra patithāpakasa Vasudēva Siridāmasa mahā-

3 vītarāgasa [madāja][6] Piṁḍapātika Dāmadharasa[6]
4 paraṁaparāgatasa Bamradēva[7] [The]virasa[8] sisēna Bhadaṁta
5 saṁgha dēvēna Gōviddaṁrāja[9] - vihārasa gaṁdhaka chivarika[10]
6 . . ta-sela[11] ॥ saṁvāsa dha(gha)raṁ[12] patithāpitaṁ [॥*]

The inscription is not dated. If we have to consider palaeography the letters, *la*, *ha*, *da* and *ja* are similar to those of those of the Allūru Brāhmī record cited above, which is ascribed to the second century A.D. The letter. *ta* looks to be latter in its form. When compared with the northern letters of the period the record can be assigned to a later period, say to the latter half of the fourth century A.D. In any case the letters do not seem to be later than the fourth century A.D.

The language of the record, although Prākṛit in general, unlike other Prākṛit records of the Deccan exhibits the influence of Pāli. We do not come across any compound letter in the record, leaving the personal name Bamradēva in line 4. This feature also suggests the northern influence particularly of the Pāli language. Influence of Sanskrit is also noticeable in the words *vītarāgā*, *paraṁparāgata* and *gaṁdhaka*. This does not mean that the record is totally free from the local influence. A glaring example in this aspect is the word *Paḍamhulāvāsaṁ* in line 1, instead of a word like Pāṇḍavāvāsam. *Pāṇḍavulu* is the Telugu plural form with which the compound is made with the word *āvāsa* to mean the abode of the Pāṇḍavās. There was an aboriginal tribe know as Pāṇḍavulu in the Telugu speaking area and probably in some other parts also. We notice certain places as Pāṇḍavula-guṭṭa and Pāṇḍavula-guḷḷu attributed to Megalithic burials. So there is no wonder that the site either Puḍhagiri or the place of the record was once inhabited by that ancient tribe. Or, the place intended in the record may represent the northern Buddhist site, named Pāṇḍava-parvata near Rājagṛiha where according to *Suttanipāta* (in Pabbajji-sutta) king Bimbisāra met Bōdhisatva.[13] In such case also the word *Pāṇḍavula* + *āvāsa* has its corrupt from in Telugu as *Pāṇḍahula* + *āvāsa*, that is the *āvāsa* of the Pāṇḍavas. *Āvāsa* in the Buddhist terminology means a place of retreat for the monks in the rainy season. It might be the intended sense of this corrupt word. Such corrupt forms are not uncommon in Telugu, for example. *Padi* + *ēnu* = *padihēnu*; *padi* + *āru* = *padahāru* etc. Similar in the word *Pāṇḍahulu*. About Puphagiri, it can be identified with Pushpagiri, the ancient place on the left bank of the Penna river in the Cuddappah district, Andhra Pradesh.

Coming to the inscription, according to the tentative text, it records that a stone residential cell (*selāsaṁvāsa-(gha)ra*) was built for the use of the persons in charge of incense and clothes, attached to Gōvindarāja - vihāra, obviously situated not far from the place of this inscription by a certain *Bhadaṅta* Saṁghadēva the disciple of (the ascetic) Bamhadēva Thevira, belonging to the line or school of the (Buddhist) mendicant Piṇḍapātika Dāma

(or Vāma) dhara, who again was a disciple of the great *vītarāga* Vāsudēva Siridāma, the establisher of the Mahāvihāra at Puphagiri, the residing place of the Pāṇḍavas.[14] The word *purimaviḍāla occurring* in the beginning of the inscription is not intelligible.

The *vihāra* mentioned in the record can be taken to be of the Buddhists, though it is not explicitly stated. The word *Piṇḍapātika* is generally noticed in their writings.

From the above it is understood that a great Buddhist vihāra was established at Puphagiri by a certain Vāsudēva Siridāma, who was reputed as a *vītarāga*, that is free from the evils of *rāga* or attachments. It is not known whether this ascetic was a royal personage or a Buddhist monk. It seems that the great *vihāra* which he is said to have established at Puphagiri was probably near the *Puri* or capital, that is Rājagṛiha, if the identity of Pāṇḍahulāvāsa of the record with Pāṇḍava - parvata is acceptable. Here I am not able to interpret the word *viḍāla*. Pāṇḍava-parvata as said before is a noted hill near Rājagṛiha, where according to *Suttan'pāta*, Bōdhisatva is said to have stayed for some days and king Bimbisāra met him there. If this view is acceptable, we have to assume that a *vihāra* of the Thēravādins affiliated to the *mahāvihāra* of Rājagṛiha, flourished in the vicinity of modern Hyderabad, in the early centuries of the Christian era. The influence of northern features in the script and language of the record also support this view.

Prof. A.M. Shastry informed me that Piṇḍapātikas were a separate sect among the Hīnayāna Buddhists. According to him Dēvadatta pleaded with the Buddha to include Piṇḍapāta, who was living only on the food that can be obtained by begging in a limited number of houses, as one of the principles in the conduct of the *bhikshus*.

The main importance of the inscription lies in the mention of Gōvindarāja vihāra. This stone cell is stated to have been set up for those who carry water for the *bhikshus* of that *vihāra*. About the identity of Gōvindarāja, we know one king by that name in the Vishṇukuṇḍi family from the two copper plate grants[15] recently discovered at Tummalagudem village which was situated about forty kilometers down the river Musi. In one of these copper plates Gōvindarāja is credited with the installation of several *stūpas* and *vihāras* all over the Deccan.

prati–vishayam= ati–bahu-prakāra-manōram -odāra karmm–ādbhuta–stūpa–vihāra–chūḍāmaṇibhir=alankṛita-sakala-dakshiṇāpathasya[16]

He is also known from those records to be the founder of the independent Vishṇukuṇḍi kingdom and predecessor of Mādhavavarman, the great. It is worth noting the attributive phrase applied to him in the same charter (set II).

'Shaḍabhijña – prātihārya – ādēśan – ānugraha-janita-Sugata śāsan-ābhiprasādasya vibudha bhavana - pratisparddhi - śōbhā-samuday -ādhika-mahā-vihāra-pratishṭhāpan-ādhigat-ānanta - brāhma - puṇya-saṁbhārasya mahārāja - śri - Gōvinda - varmaṇaḥ[17]

He is also called Gōvindarāja in the same set.[18] So Gōvindarāja of the present record can be taken to be the founder member of the Vishṇukuṇḍi dynasty. But, the palaeography of the record poses some diffi-

culty in accepting this identity. The characters as observed above even after allowing the possible marginal adjustment indicate a period not later than the fourth century A.D. The Prākṛit language and Brāhmī script of the record also support this view. Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan has placed Gōvindavarman I between A.D. 422–460;[19] and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya between A. D. 405–445. Now in view of this discovery it may not be altogether impossible to re-adjust Gōvindavarman's initial regnal year to sometime between *C.* 375 and 380 A. D., and a rule of about forty years, with his closing date between *C.* A.D. 415 and 420 A. D. His Tummalagudem set I might have been originally drafted in Prākṛit language and subsequently re-written in ornate Sanskrit *kāvya* style. His son Mādhavavarman II, the great, might have ruled till *C.* A.D. 475. It is not known when he married the Vākāṭaka princess. As it seems to be a political alliance, we may not be wrong in assuming that he entered into a marital alliance with the Vākāṭakas some time in the fifties of the fifth century, and by that queen, likely not *paṭṭamahishī*, had his son Vikramēndra I. So leaving some considerable ruling period to Dēvavarman, probably the son of the chief queen or *paṭṭamahishī* and his son Mādhavarman III, Vikramēndra I might have seized power from the collateral line in the first decade of the sixth century A.D. and had a rule of fifteen years or so. Thus it may not be very difficult to re-adjust the Vishṇukuṇḍi chronology. The early part of their chronology is only a tentative arrangement based on certain assumptions. The following scheme may be considered in the new light, with the appoximate dates indicated.

Gōvindavarman (*C.* 375–420 A. D.

Mādhavarman II (*C.* 420–475 A. D.)

(by *paṭṭamahishī*)
Dēvavarman

Mādhavavarman III
C. 475–505 A. D.

(By Vākāṭaka princess)
Vikramēndra I
C. 505–555 A.D.

Indrabhaṭṭāraka
C. 520–555 A. D.

Vikramēndra II

Thus Gōvindarāja of the present record can be taken to be Gōvindavarman the founder member of the Vishṇukuṇḍi dynasty.

CONCLUSION

1. This record takes back the antiquity of Modern Hyderabad to the early centuries of the Christian Era as a Buddhist site of the Piṇḍapātika School (of the Hinayāna sect). There is a likelihood of its being affiliated to the *mahāvihāra* of Pāṇḍava-Parvata near Rājagṛiha.

2. The place Puphagiri can be identified with Pushpagiri on the river Penna in the Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. In one of the inscriptions of Nagarjunakoṇḍa[21] a certain Bōdhisiri is stated to have constructed a stone *maṇḍapa* at Puphagiri. Recently a research scholar has reported in a local news paper about his discovery of a *stūpa* on the hill Pushpagiri.[22] The place become a popular religious centre in the Rāshṭrākūṭa period. There now exist a *maṭha* of the Advaita School and some good temples bearing considerable number of inscriptions of the medieval period. The reported *stūpa* is yet to be thoroughly investigated.

3. As the identity of Gōvindavarman, the founder member of the Vishṇukuṇḍi dydnasty is acceptable, this would be the earliest record of that family. It would establish the origin of that family in Hyderabad-Nalgonda-Śrīparvata region of Telangāṇa.

Notes :

1 *SVUOJ.*, Tirupati, Vol. XX, pp. 15 ff. and plate facing p. 87. See also *ARSIE.*, 1923-24, p. 97 and plate.

2 From Photographs. I am thankful to the Director (Epigraphy), Archoeological Survey of India for kindly visiting the findspot and arranging to have the Inscription photographed. I am also thankful to him for several of his suggestions in the reading of the inscription.

3 Read *Pāṁḍahulāvāsaṁ*.

4 The correct reading is *Puphagiri* [Ed.]

5 The correct reading is *mahā* [Ed.]

6 The correct reading is *Vāmadhara* [Ed.]

7 The correct reading is *Bahmadēva* [Ed.]

8 The correct reading is *Thīvirasa* [Ed.]

9 Read *Gōviṁdarāja*.

10 The correct reading is *gaṁdhakuṭi vārikēna ima* [Ed.]

11 The correct reading is *ṁ ūdita sela.* [Ed.]

12 The correct reading is *varaṁ*

13 Dharmanda Kosambi, *Buddha Bhagavān*, Ch. V.

14 The purport of the inscription is to record the establishment of a habitation on the hillock by *Bhadanta* Saṁghadēva, the water bearer of the *gaṁdhakuṭi* of Gōvindarāja-vihāra, who is described as the disciple of Bamhadēva Thivira of the lineage of Vasudēva Siridāma, the establisher of the great *vihāra* on the Pushpagiri and *mahāpiṁḍapātika* Vamadhara [K. V. R.]

15 *Bharati*, 1965, June, pp. 14ff and July, pp. 2ff. *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. II, pp. 4ff.

16 *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. II, p. 16, ll. 23-24

17 *Ibid*, p. 15, ll. 4-6.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 16, l. 28

19 *The Vishṇukundins and their Times*, p. 13

20 *Vishṇukuṇḍinalu* (Telugu), pp. 24-25

21 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, F. 3, p. 22

22 *Deccan Chronicle* 1983, November 6, Sunday.

12. SOME IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM DAULATABAD

M F. Khan

Daulatābād, *"the abode of wealth"* is situated about 15 km. to the north-west of Aurangabad in Maharashtra State.[1] It is famous for its hill fort, which was one of the most strongholds both in design and construction, of the medieval period[2]. Now reduced to a small village, Daulatābād was once the capital of Yādavas who ruled all the western part of Deccan during 1210 to 1318 A. D. and it was then known as Deogīr or Dēvagiri, *"the hills of gods"* and was famous for its prosperity and wealth.[3]

The first Muslim invasion of the Deccan took place in 1296 A. D., when 'Alāu'd-Dīn, the nephew of Sultan Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī, attacked Deogīr and Rāmachandra Dēva, the Raja of Deogīr was forced to submit. 'Alāu'd-Dīn, returned back with imense booty.[4] In 1380 A.D., it was again attacked under the command of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's general Malik Kāfūr as the Rājā had stopped paying the tributes to the Sultān. But on making his submission and offering sumptuous gifts, he was pardoned and officially installed as governor of Deogīr with the title of Ṛāy-i-Rāyān. During the last days of his indifferent health, Shankara, the then Raja of Deogīr asserted his independence and withheld the payment of tribute.[5] Therefore Malik Kāfūr was again sent in 1313 A.D. who killed Shankara and installed Harapāla Dēva on the throne. After passing three years Harapāla proclaimed independence. Taking this revolt seriously, Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shah, the son and successor of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī marched towards the Deccan, attacked Deogīr, killed its ruler and annexed this part of country finally to the Sultanate of Delhi. The next mention of Deogīr was when Muḥammad Tughluq changed its name as Daulatābād and made it his capital. He ordered all his courtiers and officials to migrate to his new capital from Delhi.[6] He built spacious bāzārs, laid out beautiful gardens, dug out step wells for the use of common people and erected magnificent buildings in a befitting scale. Thus Daulatābād enjoyed the honour of being the capital of India. Unfortunately as the people suffered terribly and on account of the Mughal raids in north India, Muḥammad bin Tughluq was compelled to abandon this city. Thereafter on account of wide spread disorder in the Deccan, the hold of Tughluqs over Deccan became loose and out of this, culminated the establishment of Bahmanī dynasty in 1347 by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh.[7] Daulatābād remained under the Bahmanīs upto 1500 A. D. when it was passed to the Nizām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar. Under the rulers of Nizām Shāhī dynasty, Daulatābād became their capital in 1607 A. D., but it was taken away from them by the Mughals in 1633 A.D., after a long seize of four months [8] After the downfall of Mughals, Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh, a distinguished general of Aurangzeb, the founder of the Āsaf Jāhī dynasty in 1724, transferred his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad making Daulatābād an integral part of his dominion.[9]

Although Daulatābād remained under Muslim occupation for about five centuries but very few remains of that period have survived today. It is also a wonder to see that neglible number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions have been found from Daulatābād so far. About thirty five Arabic and Persian Inscriptions were copied till now by the Office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur. These inscriptions cover a period of nearly five hundred years from A.H. 722 (1322 A. D.) to A. H. 1270 (1853 A. D.), and throw light on the history of Daulatābād. Of them the important inscriptions of Tughluq, and Bahamanīs published earlier in the series of *Epigraphia Indo Moslamica* and *Epigraphia Indica* Arabic and Persian Supplement are described in this paper.

The earliest inscription available in Daulatābād is fixed on the southern wall of the tomb of Quttāl Shahīd.[10] The text runs into eleven verses in Persian inscribed in fairly good Naskh. It records that during the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, a step well was constructed in A. H. 722 (1322 A.D.) by Thakkar Nānak son of Jagbīr. As is evident from the text, the well was constructed for the purpose of providing drinking water to the public. The most interesting part of the epigraph is that certain conditions have been laid down for the people before taking water from this well. For the interest of the scholars, the translation of that portion of the text is given as under. "Those who desire to enter this step-well should walk bare-footed on the ground. They should not touch its water with unwashed hands and should not draw water with pitchers whose bottoms are smeared with mud. Since its water refreshes the soul, they should not do gargling into it."

The second inscription is of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlug. The inscriptional slab which was laying loose in the fort has now been kept in the Regional Museum at Aurangabad.[11] Its text which runs in to one line of Persian prose is inscribed in Naskh and states that a mosque was constructed in A. H. 733 (1332 A. D) by Malikush-Sharq Saifu'd-Dāulat Wa'd-Dīn akhukrbek-i-Maisara Qutlugh, Malik Safdar. Also mentions that the work was supervised by Shadī, the deputy Kotwāl of Deogīr. The importance of this record is two-fold. Firstly it mentions the name of the city as Deogīr though by this time it was renamed as Daulatābād. It seems that the new name was not so prevalent. Secondly this record is the only source of information from where we could know full titles and designations of Malik Safdār though Diyaud-Dīn Barni, the author of "*Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*", mentions him in his list of officials. The epigraph furnishes us that Maliku'sh Sharq Saifu'd Dāulat Wa'd-Dīn Qutlugh Malik Safdar was the trusted nobleman and *akhurbek-i-maisara* (superintendent of the royal stable),[12] Another official Shādī, who supervised the construction work, was the deputy Kotwāl of Deogīr as mentioned in the epigraph.

The third inscription is also of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlug It is fixed on the eastern gateway of the enclosure of the Dargāh of a celebrated saint of Ḥadrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn at Kāgzīpura, a village about two km. away from the present Daulatābād.[13] This Kāgzīpura must have been one of the localities of the then

city of Daulatābād and famous for its paper making industry, but due to passage of time it has become a separate village. The epigraph comprising two lines of Persian prose in Naskh characters records the construction of a mosque at the instance of Maliku'l-Umara Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat Wa'd-Dīn Ulugh-i-A'zam Qublī Sultānī entitled Nasīru'l-Mulk in the year A. H. 733 (1332 A. D.). The record is quite important as it has preserved the name and honorofic titles of one more important official of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, about whom little is known from chronicles of that time. Diyā-u'd-Dīn Barnī[14] mentions one Nasīru'l-Mulk Qublī who might be the same person as given in this record.

Among the four Bahmanī inscriptions, the first constitutes the earliest record of Muḥammad Shāh I. It is carved on the Central miḥrāb of the 'Īdgāh.[15] It consists of nine couplets in Persian inscribed in three lines, in Naskh characters. The epigraph refers to the construction of an 'Īdgāh during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh by Ulugh Qutlugh Bahrām Khān in the year A H. 760 (1359 A.D.). The builder Bahrām Khān is no other than the trusted nobleman of Muḥammad Shāh. According to Tabataba,[16] he was the king's sister's son but as per Farishta's statement he was like a son to the king.[16] He was appointed as a Nā'ib-i-Ārid of the royal army. The fort of Daulatābād was placed under his charge. It would be seen that the epigraph is a valuable record which furnishes information about an important nobleman of the Bahmanī period.

The other Bahmanī inscription belongs to Aḥmad Shāh II. It is fixed on the southern wall of the mosque adjacent to Chand Minār.[17] It contains twenty one Persian couplets. The epigraph states that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh through its *farmān* issued from Bidar bestowed Daulatābād to one of his favourite slaves, Parwiz son of Qaranfal. Accordingly Parwiz came to Daulatābād alongwith his brothers and took the administrative charge of the fort. He constructed a beautiful edifice which was completed in the year A. H 849 (1445 A D.) in a period of three years. The record provides us valuable information about the Minār, the duration of the period taken for its construction and the builder of this minaret ; hence it is quite important.

One more inscription belonging to the same king was found on the main gate of the mosque situated at the foot of the Yak Minār. It is undated and contains only one Persian couplet in bold Naskh style.[20] The text invokes prayers for the happiness of the reigning king and expresses a wish that the edifice may prove auspicious for him. It is strange to see that details regarding the nature of edifice, the name of the builder and the date are not mentioned in the record. As the gate and the mosque seems to be newly constructed, it is possible that the praiseworthy edifice referred to in the epigraph is no other than the Minār.

The last inscription also of Aḥmad Shāh II was found at Kāgzīpūra. The inscriptional slab is fixed on the southern wall of the Masjid-i-Ḥaud and consists of six lines in Persian prose in Naskh characters.[21] According to the text the mosque situated on the bank of Zaināsar was constructed by the slave of the king. Malik'sh Sharq Malik Parwiz son of Quranfal in

the year A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.) The record is important in more than one aspect. It gives the name of the tank on which mosque was constructed as Zaināsar. It was so called after the name of the celebrated saint Zainu'd-Dīn Shirāzī who lies buried in A. H. 771 at Khuldābād.[22] It also furnishes us the valuable information about Parwīz son of Qaranfal who continued having administrative charge of this region upto A.H. 161 (1457 A. D.). If it is so, Parwīz seems to have been a powerful nobleman who remained in one region upto fifteen years holding charge of Daulatābād fort.

Notes :

1 *District Gazetteer, Aurangabad District* (Bombay-1977), P. 964

2 Sidney Toy, *The strongholds of India* (London-1957) P. 33

3 Sherwani, H.K., *History of Medieval Deccan, Vol. I* (Hyd-1973), P. 79

4 Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta,* (Lucknow-1864), PP. 117-18; Radhey Shyam, "*The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar,* (Varanasi-1966) P. 5

5 Sherwani, *Op. Cit.*

6 Firishta, *Op. Cit,* P. 136

7 Sinha, S.K., *Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I* (1964, Hyderabad), P. 29, Radhey Shyam, *Op. Cit.,* P. 6

8 *Dist. Gaz*, Aurangabad *Op. Cit,* P. 122

9 *Dist. Gaz,* P. 938.

10 *(ARIE.,)* 1958-59, D43.

11 *ARIE.,* 1962-63, D113.

12 Diyāu'd-Dīn Barani, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūs Shāhz,* (Calcutta-1862), P. 454

13 *Ibid.,* P. 454.

14 *ARIE.,* 1958-59, D-52; *EIAPS.,* 1957-58, P. 39, Pl.X(b) Bashiruddin Ahmad, *Wāqiu'āt-i-Mumlakat-i-Bījapur* (Agra-1915), P. 260.

15 Baranī, *Op. Cit.,* P. 455.

16 *ARIE.,* 1958-59, D44; *EIAPS.,* 1964, P. 22, Pl.VII (b)

17 Tabataba, *Burhan-i-Ma'āthir* (Delhi-1936), P. 29

18 *Firishta, Tārikh-i-Firishta* (Kanpur-1884), P. 277.

19 *ARIE.,* 1958-59, No. D35; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1907-08, PP. 21-22; Bashīru'd-dīn Ahmad, *Op. Cit.,* PP. 279-80

20 *ARIE.*, 1958-59, No. D36; *EIAPS.*, 1964, Pl. XII (a), P. 38.

21 *ARIE.*, 1958-59, No. D54; *EIAPS.*, 1964, Pl.XII (P. 38.

22 Syed Sabāhu'ddīn Abdur Rahman, "Bazm-i-Sūfiya", (1949-Azamgarh), PP. 287-88. *Shaikh-Dā'ūd* entitled Zainu'd-dīn was the son of Khwāja Husain He was burnt at Shirāz (i.e. Irān). He came to India & settled at Delhi but he migrated to Daulatābād at the instance of Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq. He was the disciple of the celebrated Saint Hadrat Shaikh Burhanud-dīn Ghasīb. Malik Raja of Khandesh, the founder of the Fārūqī dynasty had great reverence for him. He popubted Zainabad after his name on the other trade of the rvlvr Tapti near Burhanpur.

13. BARSI PLATES OF KRISHNA I

H. S. Thosar and A. A. Hingmire

The present set of three copper plates was in the possession of Shri M.M. Hadge, a resident of Barsi, district Sholapur in Maharastra. We are deeply indebted to him for making these plates available for study. It is a matter of great pride to note that this is the third successive new set of copper plates provided by Shri Hadge since last three years.

The plates are rectangular in size measuring 28 cms and 15 cms in length and breadth respectively. The plates were held together by a copper ring passing through a circular hole, having a diameter of 2 cms. The ring is lost. The weight of the set is about 3 kgs. The plates are in a good state of preservation.

As found in most of the cases, the edges of these plates are thickened and raised inside for the protection of the matter. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The first plate contains fifteen lines, the second plate thirteen and twelve lines respectively on the obverse and reverse sides while the third plate contains thirteen lines. Thus the text contains altogether fifty three lines.

The characters, belong to the Southern type of Brāhmī which was in vogue during the 8th century A.D. The script of the present charter is identical with the script of the Talegaon[1] and Bharat Itihāsa Saṁśōdhak Maṇḍal plates[2] of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa I. The language of the grant is Sanskrit, but the rules of *sandhi*, *vigraha* etc. have not been strictly observed. Prominent mistakes such as omission of letters (lines 29,35) and repeating a verse in toto (lines 4 to 6) are noticed in the present grant. At the same time there are many scribal errors also. For example in line 29 the place name Amarakaṇṭakaṁ has been wrongly written as Amarakaṁkaṭa. The shape of letters varies at different places.

As regards orthography *va* is used throughout the charter to denote *ba*. After *r* the consonants are invariably doubled. The letter *ta* is doubled before *ra* such as '*gōttra*'. The dropping of the final visarga is frequent. Semi-Prakrit words such 'varishati' in lines 20-21 are found. The signs for half and full stops have not been used regularly.

The object of the present charter is to register a village grant by Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja I to a learned brāhmaṇa named Śrīdharabhaṭṭa. The endowment was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the Jyeshṭha Amāvāsya in the Śaka year 687. The name of the samvatsara has been given as Śubhakṛit-samvatsara. According to Indian Ephemeris, Śubhakrit-samvatsara falls in Śaka 684, while the name of the samvatsara in Śaka 687 was Viśvāvasu. There was a solar eclipse on the Jyēshṭha Amāvāsya in Śaka 685, the name of the samvatsara being Śōbhana.[3] The details of the date given in the grant will correspond to 4th June 764 A. D., the week day being Monday.[4] In spite of the discrepancies

mentioned above in the date, the charter seems to be an authentic one.

The grant opens with the well known auspicious symbol for *siddham* followed by an invocatory verse in praise of Vishṇu and Śankara. Verses 2-15 give the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty from Gōvinda to Kṛishṇarāja I and the description and exploits of the ruling king. Verse 16 speaks of the king making the grant (*brahmadēya*) having thought of life as transient and worthless. Then follows the prose passage which give all the details of the grant. When the endowment was made, king Kṛishṇarāja was on an expedition in Central India. It is stated that he issued the present charter from a *vijayaskandhāvāra* in Amarakaṇṭaka on the banks of the river Narmadā. The present record seems to be a very important one as in no other published record Kṛishṇa's campaign upto the Narmadā river is mentioned. Secondly the Bharat Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala grant dated 758 A. D.[5] is the earliest so far known record of this ruler. The Talegaon[6] and Bhaṇḍak[7] plates of the same ruler are dated in 768 and 772 A. D., respectively. Therefore the present record which is dated 764 A.D. ranks second in order of chronology among the published charters of Kṛishṇa I.

Till the discovery of the Bhaṇḍak plates, Kṛishṇa's conquests into Central India were not known at all. The Bhaṇḍak plates were issued from Nandipuradvâri, i.e , Nandurbar in the Dhulia district of Maharashtra.[8] The present record reveals that Kṛishṇa had undertaken an expedition in Central India even farther right upto the banks of the Narmadā river and that too eight years before the issue of the Bhaṇḍak plates.

The present inscription thus brings to light a new fact about the reign of Kṛishṇa I.

However, the grant does not provide any information about the enemy against whom the expedition was undertaken. In this regard the following possibilities can be conjectured. Among the main adversaries of Kṛishṇa, the name of Rāhappā[9] is mentioned in several Rāshṭrakūṭa records. The identity of this person has not been established so far. Dr. Altekar has suggested that he might be Kṛishṇa's contemporary ruler of Mewar.[10] If it is so the *vijayaskandhāvāra* in Amarakaṇṭaka on the banks of the river Narmadā from which the present grant was issued might be Kṛishṇa's camping place on way to Mewar. Besides Rāhappā, one relative is also mentioned in some records among the enemies ousted by Kṛishṇa I.[11] The identity of this person is also yet to be established. Dr. Altekar has surmised his identification with Karka II of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[12] This view does not appear to be convincing, because the relations between the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Gujarat remained cordial during this period. Even after this period the rulers of this branch continued to rule in Gujarat as the vessals of the Malkhed house. Therefore the relative ousted by Kṛishṇa might probably be from the Vidarbha branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas as nothing is heard about this branch after the proclamation of sovereignity by Dantidurga. Prior to it the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha as well as the ancestors of Dantidurga were the subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi.[13] After the overthrow by Dantidurga a trial of strength among these two equals was quite probable. In this conflict

the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Vidarbha seem to have been completely crushed and their territory incorporated into the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. That is why no records of this family are found after this period. On the contrary Kṛishṇa I and his successors from the imperial line donated villages from the Vidarbha region.[14] The expedition referred to in the present grant might be in this connection also.

The donee's name has been given as Śridharabhaṭṭa who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and who was well-versed in grammar, (*śabd-ārthavēdinē*), Vēdas as well as Vēdāṅga. He was the son of Ravisvāmin who was a *dvivēdin* and *sōmayājin* and the grandson of Duggaiyōpādhyāya.

The present charter introduces a hithero unknown division (vishaya) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. It is Niguṇaūra vishaya. On the basis of phonetical similarity as well as the location of other geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Niguṇaūra can be identified with Neknur in the district Bhir in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. Along with Niguṇaūra-vishaya all other placenames occurring in the present record can be easily and satisfactorily located in the adjacent parts of Bhir and Osmanabad districts. The Niguṇaūra-vishaya thus seems to have comprised the adjoining parts of these two districts. On the north it was bounded by Dhāraūra-vishaya and Uppālikā 300 and on the south by the Murumba and Māṇaka-vishayas.[15]

The donated as well as the boundary villages along with the names of their modern equivalents are as under.[16]

Sl. No.	Inscriptional name	Modern equivalent	Taluka	District
1	Niguṇaūra	Neknur	Bhir	Bhir
2	Vaṭagrāma	Wadgaon-kalsambar	,,	,,
3	Kālasaṁvāra-grāma	Kalasambar	,,	,,
4	Vihilambagrāma	Yallam Ghat	,,	,,
5	Kāragrāma	Karegavan	,,	,,
6	Vāyulagrāma	Devibabhulgaon	,,	,,
7	Pippalagrāma	Pimpalgaon	,,	,,
8	Pālidhāra	Pali	,,	,,
9	Kuraṅgānadi	River to the north of Wadgaon	,,	,,
10	Vrihad. Viraka	Hivra Bk.	Kaij	,,
11	Sāraṇagrāma	Sarni	,,	,,
12	Virakāravirā	Ida	,,	,,
13	Sārōlagrāma	Sarul	,,	,,

Sl. No.	Inscriptional name	Modern equivalent	Taluka	District
14	Vakkaḍāgrāma	Wakdi	Kallam	Osmanabad
15	Juṇavali	Junoni	Osmanalad	,,
16	Amarakaṇṭaka	Amarkantaka	M. P.	
17	Narmadā	Narmādā river	,,	

Besides the endowment of Vaṭagrāma and Kāḷasaṁvaragrāma to Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, the present record also registers land grants by Kṛishṇarāja to other 120 brāhmaṇas.

The composer of the present grant was the same Indra who had composed the Talegaon[17] and the Bharat Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala plates of Kṛishṇa[18] I and the Samangadh grant of Dantidurga[19]. Tāradeva, the son of Vatsarāja was the engrāver.

TEXT[20]

[Metres: verses 1, 7, 17-18, 20-22, 24 *Anushṭubh*; verses 11-14, 16 *Āryā*; verse 15 *Āryāgīti*; verse 19 *Indravajrā*; verse 6 *Gīti*; verse 26 *Pushpitāgrā*; verse 2-5, 8 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 10, 23 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

FIRST PLATE

1 Siddham[21] [II*] Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhikamalaṁ kṛitaṁ 11(I) Haraś=cha yasya Kā[ṁ]tēndu kalayā kaṁ=alaṁkṛitaṁ(tam) II [1 II*] Āsī[d*]=dvishat-timi-

2 ram=udyata-maṇḍalāgrō dhvastin=nayann=abhimukhō raṇa-śarvvarīshu I bhūpaḥ śuchir=vvidhur=iv=āpta-digasta(nta)-kīrttir=gGōviṁda-

3 Rāja iti rājasu rāja-siṁghaḥ II[2II*] Tasy=ātmajō jagati viśrūta-dīrgha kīrttir=ārtt=ārtti-hāri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhā-

4 rī[1*] bhūpas=trivishṭapa[22]-nṛipānukṛitiḥ kṛitajñaḥ śrī-Kakkarāja iti gōttra-maṇir=vvabhūvaḥ(va) II[3II*] Tasy=ātmajō jaga-

5 ti viśruta-dīrgha-kīrttir=ārtt=ārtti-hāri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhārī I bhūpas=trivishṭapa[22]-nṛip-ānukṛitiḥ kṛitajñaḥ śrī-

6 Kakkarāja iti gōttra-maṇir=vvabhūvaḥ (va)II[4II*][23] Tasya prabhinna-karaṭa-chyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-ruchir-ōlli-

7 khit-āṁsa-pīṭhaḥ[1*] kshmāpaḥ kshitau kshapita-śattrur=abhūt=tanūjaḥ sad-Rāshṭrakūṭa-kanakādri(dri)r=iv=Ēndrarājaḥ II[5II] Tasy=ō-

8 pārjita - tapasaḥ tanayas=chatur=udadhi - valaya - mālinyāḥ [1*] bhōktā bhuvaḥ Śatakratu - sadṛiśaḥ śrī - Da -

9 ntidurgga - rājō=bhūt ॥ [6॥*] yasy=ājau rāja - siṁghasya vittrastā vairi - vāraṇāḥ sval=lajā[24] stambham=unmū -

10 lyā jñāyantē kv=āpi nō gatā[ḥ*] ॥[7॥*] Kānch - īśa-Kērala - nna(na)rādhipa-Chōla - Pāṇḍya - Śrīharsha - Vajraṭa - vibhēda - vi -

11 dhāna dakshaṁ Karṇṇaṭakaṁ va(ba)lam=anantam=ajēyam=anyair=bhṛityaiḥ kiyadbhir=api yaḥ sahasā jigāya ॥[8॥*] A - bhrūvibhaṁ-

12 gam=agṛihīta - niśāta - śastram=ajñātam=apraṇihitājñam=apētayatnaṁ[1*] yō vallabhaṁ sapadi daṇḍa - valēna ji -

13 tvā rājādhirāja - paramēśvaratām=avāpaḥ(pa) ॥ [9॥*] Āsētōr=vvipul - ōpal - āvali - lla(la)sat - lō(llō)l - ō[r*]mmi - vē -

14 l-āchalād - ā prālēya - kalaṁkit - āmala - śilā jālā[t*] - tushār - āchalāt [।*] ā pūrvv - āpara - vārirā -

15 śi - pulina - prānta - prasiddh - āvaddhēr=yēn=ēyaṁ jagatī sva - vikrama - va(ba)lēn=aik - ātapattrā(ttrī)kṛitāḥ(tā) ॥[10॥*]

SECOND PLATE, FIRST SIDE

16 Tasmi[n[1]=divaṁ prayātē Vallabharājē kshata - prajā - vāddha[ḥ*।] śrī - Kakkarāja-sū-nūr=mmahīpatiḥ Kṛishṇarājō=bhūt ॥[12॥] ya -

17 sya sva - bhuja - parākrama - niḥśēsh - ōtsarit - āri - dik - chakraṁ । Kṛishṇasy=ēv - ākṛishṇaṁ charitaṁ śrī - Kṛishṇarājasya ॥[12*॥]

18 Śubhattuṃga - ttuṁga - turaga - pravṛiddha - rēṇ - ūrddhva - rudha - ravi - kiraṇaṁ । grīshmē='pi nabhō nikhilaṁ prāvṛiṭkālāyatē spa -

19 shṭaṁ(tam) ॥[13॥*] Ud[ḍ]āma - darppa - nirbhara - mahāvala - prachalitasya bhū - pṛishṭē । Śaknōti kō nirōddhuṁ prasaraṁ vara - nna(na)ra -

20 samudrasya ॥[14*॥] Dīn-ānātha-praṇayishu yathēshṭa-chēshṭaṁ samīhitam=ajasraṁ । tatkshaṇam=Akālavari -

21 shō (Akālavarshō) varshati sarvv - ārtti-nirmmathanaṁ(nam) ॥[15*॥] yēna nija-rājyam=ūrjitam=anēka - bhūpālaṁ pālita -

22 m=anantaṁ[1*]Śrī - Rāshṭrakūṭa - santati - chūḍāmaṇi - Kṛishṇa - rājēna ॥[16*॥] Tēn-ēdam=anila - vidyu -

23 [t*] = chaṁchala - jīvitam=asāraṁ । kshiti - dāna - parama - puṇyaḥ pravarttitō brahmadēyō=yaṁ(yam) ॥[17॥*]

24 Sa cha pṛithivīvallabha - mahārajādhirāja paramēśvara - paramabhaṭṭākara - Akālava-

25 rsha - yaśō[25] - mahānidhiḥ śrī - Kṛishṇarāja - dēvaḥ । sarvvānn=ēva rāshṭrapati - vishayapati - grā -

26 ma - vū(kū)ṭa[26] - mahattarādīṁ(n) samājñāpa[ya*]ti astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā - pitrōr=ā -

27 tmanaś=cha puṇya - yaśō - vṛiddhayē । Śaka - nṛipati - samvatsa[ra*] - śata - shaṭkē śa(sa)pt - āśīty=uttarē

28 Śubhakṛit - saṁvatsarē । Narmadā - taṭ - āvāsita - vijaya - skandhāvārē sādhita - Māhēśvarē[27]

SECOND PLATE, SECOND SIDE

29 Jyēshṭha - māsi - Amāvāsyāyāṁ Sūrya - grahē(ha)[ṇa*] - nimittaṁ gatē Amarkaṁ-kaṭaṁ[28] srī - Vallabharājē - Niguṇa -

30 ūra - vishay - āntarggataḥ Vaṭa - grāmaḥ Kālasaṁvara - grāma dhāna samōpēta । yasya pūrvvatō Khaḍakā[29]

31 Virakāravirā[30] । āgnēyyāṁ diśi[31] Saiyalasarōla - grāmaḥ । dakshiṇataḥ Vīhīlamva - grāmaḥ । nairttyāṁ (nairittyāṁ) Nigu -

32 ṇaūraṁ । paśchimataḥ Niguṇa[ū*]ra -pravṛitā(ttā) Juṇavāṇiyaka[32] gatā vaṭā ēva । uttaratō Kuraṁgā -

33 nadī[33] Kāra - grāmaṣ=cha । Niguṇaūṛasya āgnēyāṁ diśi Vakkaḍā[34] - grāmaḥ Kiṇihikā Sāraṇama[35] grā -

34 madhāna - dvayēna saha । yasya pūrvvatō Vṛihadvirakaḥ । dakshiṇataḥ Vavula - grāmō Pippala[36] - grā -

35 maś=cha । paśchi[ma*]taḥ Pāṇī(lī)dhara[37] uttaratō । pūrvva - lli(li)khita - Vīhīlamva-grāmaḥ ।

36 Ēvaṁ chatur - āghāṭ - ōpalla(la)kshitaṁ grāma - pañchakaṁ । Duggaiyōpādhyāya - pauttrāya । Ravisvāmi - dvivē -

37 da - Sōma - yājina - puttrāya । aśēsha - śabd - ārtha - vēdinē vēda - vēdāṁga-pāragāya mahāsatvāya । Kāśypa -

38 sa - gōttrāya[38] Srīdhara - bhaṭṭāya । pūrvva - bhujyamānā ēva śri - Vallabha-rājēna apratigrāhaka iti matvā

39 tēbhyō grāmēbhyaḥ śāsanaṁ dattaṁ tēna cha viṁśaty=uttara - śata - brāhmaṇē-bhyaḥ vēda - vēdāṁga - pāra -

40 gēbhya[ḥ*] śruti - smṛiti - vihita - karmānushṭhāna - parēbhyaḥ dyūta - chourya - śūdrī - gamana - nirddhāṭana - pa -

THIRD PLATE

41 rēbhyaḥ llō(lō)k - ōttarēbhyaḥ pratipāditaṁ ॥ Achāṭa - bhaṭ - āpravēśaṁ rājā(ja) - vā(bā)dha - rahitaṁ bhūmi - chhidra - nyāyēna prati -

42 pāditaṁ sa cha asmad = vaṁśyair = anyair = vvā svadāya - nirviśēshaṁ pratipālanī-yaḥ । Uktaṁ cha bhagavatā vēdavyā -

43 sēna Vyāsēna । Va(Ba)hubhir = vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar - ādibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā pha -

44 laṁ(lam) ॥[18॥*] Sva - dattāṁ para - dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ [1] shashṭiṁ varsha sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ । [। 19॥*] yān - īha

45 dattāni purā nna(na)rēndrair = ddānāni ddha(dha)rmārtha - yaśaskarāṇi [1*]nirmmāl-yavantaṁ pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ

46 punar - ādadīta ॥[20 ॥*] Svaṁ dātuṁ sumahach - chhakyaṁ duḥkham = anyasya pālanaṁ । dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v = ēti dānā -

47 ch = chhrēyō = nupālanaṁ(nam) ॥[21*] Shashṭiṁ varsha sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ । āchhēt[t*]ā ch = ānumantā cha tā -

48 ny = ēva narakē vasēt ॥[22॥] Taṭāgānāṁ sahasra(srā)ṇi aśvamēdha-śatēna cha [।*] gavāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na

49 śudhyati ॥[23॥*] Ya[ḥ*] sampatbhir = anudhya(ddha)taḥ para-hita-vyāsam[gi*]nī ya[sya*]dhīr = yya(ya)stan = v(mm = v)āpy = upakarttum = itya(chchha)ti suhṛid = var ggasya kā-

50 sṭha(shṭhā) dhanē । Tēn = Endrēṇa nna(na)rēndra-vṛinda-sahitaḥ śrī-Kṛishṇarāj-ājñayā prīty = ēdaṁ lli(li)khitaṁ tad = unnata-yaśaḥ prō-

51 dbhāsanaṁ śāsanaṁ ॥[24*॥] Utkīrṇam Tāradēvēna Vatsarājasya sūnunā । ddha(dha)rm-ādharma-vidhijñēna sarvva-satv-ōpa

52 kariṇā ॥[25॥*] Iti kamal-dāl-āmvu-viṁdu-llō(lō)lāṁ śriyam = anuchiṁtya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha । sakalam = idam = udā-

53 ḥritaṁ cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayōḥ(yō) vilōpyāḥ ॥[26*॥] Namō Nārāyaṇāya

Notes :

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275-82

2 *B.I.S M.Q.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 165-173

3 *Indian Ephemeris*, by S.K. Pillai, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 126-131.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *B.I.S M.Q.*, Op. Cit.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XIII. pp. 275-82

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121-130

8 *Ibid*

9 A.S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 43.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 Thosar & Pathy, Bhindhon plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa Karkkarāja, *Pratishṭhān Sept. 1978*. See also *JESI.*, Vol. X, pp. 30 ff.

14 Bhandak plates of Kṛishṇa I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121-130

15 H.S. Thosar; *Studies in the historical & cultural geography and ethnography of Marathwada* (unpublished thesis)

16 *District Census hand books of Bhir & Osmanabad district.*, 1961. Grāmasūchi.

17 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275-82

18 *B.I.S.M.Q.*, Op. Cit.

19 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

20 From impressions

21 Expressed by a symbol

22 Read °*trivishṭapa*°

23 This verse is engraved twice by the scribe by mistake

24 Read *tal-lajjā*-°

25 The correct reading is *tyāga* [Ed.]

26 The authors have not read this word.

27 The authors have not read this word.

28 Read *Amarakaṁṭakaṁ*

29 The authors have not read this word.

30 The correct reading is *Ḍavirā* [Ed.]

31 The correct reading is *Aiyaṇapōḍōlla* [Ed.]

32 The correct reading is *Jñaṇavāṇiyaka* [Ed.]

33 The correct reading is *Kuḍaṁgā-nadī* [Ed.]

34 The correct reading is *Chakvḍā* [Ed.]

35 The correct reading is *Kiṇihikā Ghāragāma* [Ed]

36 The correct reading is *Vaghapa* [Ed.]

37 The correct reading is *Pāṇīvāḍa* [Ed.]

38 The correct reading is *Kāpysa-gōttrāya* [Ed.]

14. THE DATE OF THE MASODA PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta

We published a paper on the Masoda copper-plate charter of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II in Vol. X (pp. 108-116, pl. VIII) of this journal. The transcript of this epigraph was prepared from the original plates some seven or eight years ago. But while finalising the text for the press we hād no access to the plates and had to depend on the estampages of the plates in our possession. Due to some mechanical defect the portion of the estampage of the last plate containing the date was heavily inked and consequently the fourth letter of the relevant word mentioning the year could not be read out satisfactorily, and depending on the mention of *Sēnāpathi* Kātyāyana, who is also referred to in the Pattan plates of the twenty-seventh year of the same king, we proposed to read this word as *ēkn(kō)[natriṁśa]d*, *i.e.*, 29, and accordingly assigned this charter to the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Pravarasēna II.[1] This portion has, however, come out very clearly in the photographic illustration of the plate accompanying our article, and the word in question can be read as *ēkunaviṁśad* (correctly, *ēkōnaviṁśad)* indubitably. and accordingly the plates in question were issued in the nineteenth, *not twenty-ninth*, year of Pravarasēna II's reign.

Notes :

1. *JESI.*, x, p. 114, text-line 48 & p. 116, note 39.

15. PALA INSCRIPTION OF KATTIYARASA

M. J. Sharma

The inscription was found engraved on a hero-stone standing slantly near the tank in front of the Panchayat office at Pāḷa in Mundgod Taluk of North Kanara District, Karnataka State. The stone slab has four panels of which the topmost one, contains the inscription with four lines while the other three panels depict the usual battle scenes, death of the hero and his attaining heaven. The centre portion in between the inscriptional lines, is occupied by a figure of a lotus with sixteen petals.[1] The surface of the stone particularly the inscriptional portion, is much exposed to the weather and hence the letters are worn out and damaged in some places. The inscription[2] which was copied by me during 1972-73 is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The script and the language of the inscription is Kannaḍa and it is engraved in characters of about the later half of the 8th century A. D.

The inscription, at first, refers to a Kattiyarasa who was ruling over the earth (*prithivi-rājyaṁgeye*) and then states that when [Paḍeye]rara Sirimāra attacked Piñgaḷimoge, a certain Śrī Dhūrtta [son of] Dhūrttagāmiga attained heaven after killing *Bachchara-ballaha* Kāḷḷama. The stone is stated to have been erected by a person whose name is not clear.

The name Kattiyarasa is not new. In the Goḍachi[3] plates, Kīrtivarman I of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi was known by the name as Katti-arasa (*Raṇavikrama-Dharmma-mahārājasya Priya-tanayaḥ Katti-arasa nāmadhēyaḥ* meaning Katti-arasa as the favourite son of Raṇavikrama Dharma-mahārāja i. e. Pulakēśin I). But, Kattiyarasa of the present inscription cannot be identified with Katti-arasa i. e. Kīrtivarmman I (c. 566-578 A. D.) as the characters of the present inscription belong to a later period i. e. 8th century A. D as stated above. Hence, this Kattiyarasa who is stated as ruling over the earth may suitably be identified with Kīrtivarman II as palaeographically the record suits to his reign i. e. 744-757 A.D. Kīrtivarman II was also known by similar names 'Kattiyara' or 'Katyāra'. The Diḍgur[4] inscription states that while Kattiyara was ruling over the earth, a certain Dōsi was governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand province. Another contextual reference to him as Katyāra was found in an inscription of the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa from Bimrā,[5] Deglur Taluk, Nanded District, dated in Chālukya Vikrama year 47 (1122A.D.)

Of the names occurring in the inscription, Dhūrtta-gāmiga and Bachchara-ballaha Kāḷḷama draw our attention. The former one recalls a resembling name Dhuṭṭāgāmini,[6] the name of a king of Ceylon. While in the other name (Bachchara-ballaha-Kāḷḷama) the two words Bachchara and ballaha when sanskritised read as Vatsa and Vallabha and the resultant meaning will be as Kāḷḷama, the king (vallabha) of

the Vatsas. So far, there are no evidences to show that any king of the Vatsa country participated in any battle or a fight during the reign of Kīrtivarman II, though references regarding them are found during the period of Dhruva,[7] the Rāshṭrakūṭa king.

TEXT[8]

1 Svasti śrī Kattiyarasan-prithivī-rājyāñgeyc Paḍe[ye]rara Sirimāran

2 Piñgaḷimogeyān-ē[ḷidu](ēṟik)koḷvalli Dhūrttagāmi-ganā-magan-ka . .

3 Śrī Dhūrttan-Bachchara-ballaha Kāḷḷamana eṟidu svarggālayakk-ēridōn

4 . . . . tāvim koṭṭa ka[lla]n-iṟidōn.

Notes :

1 See for a partial lotus figure engraved at the top of the Āḍūr inscription of Kīrtivarman II, in Karnatak Inscriptions Vol. I, pp. 4-8 and plate.

2 *AR.Ep.*, 1972-73 B. 79.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 59 ff and plate.

4 *Ibid*, Vol. VI pages 252-53 and plate.

5 S. H. Ritti and G. S. Shelke : *Inscriptions from Nanded*, No. 23, pages XXXIV and 39.

6 H. Parkar : *Ancient Ceylon*, pages 330-31 and Rasanayagam : *Ancient Jaffna*, Pages 68-70.

7 Fleet : Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, pages 393-94.

8 From impressions.

16. A NEW WALL INSCRIPTION OF KALIKADEVI TEMPLE AT BALLIGAVE

H. R. Raghunath Bhat

That there has been a socio-cultural tradition of erecting epitaphs with or without inscriptions or sculptural representations may be substantiated by a number of inscriptions and memorial sculptures in the Baḷḷigāve - Banavāsi region. A wall (label) inscription along with an interesting relief sculpture of a couple, which has been recently discovered during my field work at Baḷḷigāve in Shikaripur taluk of Shimoga district (Karnataka) represent yet another addition to the long list of memorial inscriptions and sculptures so far noticed.

The inscription in three long lines is found engraved on the lower part of the left or northern wall of the *garbhagṛiha* of the Kāḷikādēvī temple, which by itself is of absorbing interest because of the iconographical peculiarities.[1] It occupies an area of 86 cm. by 12 cm. The first two lines are shorter than the last line. The size of the letters varies from about 2.5 cm. to 3.5 cm. in height. The conjunct letters like *Śrī* (1.3) is of 5 cm.. height.

The characters are neither boldly engraved nor exhibit the perfect alignment in the mode of writing. Though not dated, on grounds of palaeography and the structure of the language of early medieval period, the inscription is ascribable to 12-13th centuries. The language of the record is (*naḍu*) Kannaḍa and the text is in prose style. The whole inscription is in the form of only one long sentence. It is not devoid of orthographical errors here and there.

The present record may be considered as a commemorative-cum-memorial inscription. It records at the first instance the death of Ekadamarōja, son of Kañchugāra Maḷōja of Baḷḷigāve. In the second instance, the inscription purports to record the erection of the figures (*pratime*) of Ekadamarōja and his wife (name not mentioned), who probably performed *sati* and died along with her beloved husband (*sahagamana*), by their daughter Vinayavve, in the temple of Kāḷikādēvi. Along with and on the top of this inscriptional reference to the couple, the relief sculpture of Ekadamarōja and his wife is equally interesting.

Both the husband and wife are seated side by side in *padmāsana* with folded hands in great devotion. The right side *jaṭa* or projected *śikhā*, well built physique and moderate ornamentation and fine jewellery are specially noteworthy here. However, these figures of husband and wife lack expression. Added to it the faces are slightly worn out.

The right or southern wall of the *garbhagṛiha* of the same temple contains another relief sculpture of a couple. The hero is seated in *padmāsana* with folded hands and by his left side is seated his wife in the similar pose, showing her devotion to Kāḷi. Both these figures on the right and left walls of the *garbhagṛiha* appear to have

been associated with Kāḷikādēvī temple in more than one way.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that Kāḷikadēvī temple by itself is one of the unique monuments of Baḷḷigāve from the point of view of composite iconography of Kāḷi and its association with the community of *Pañchalōhādhipatis* particularly the family of Mālōja, a prominent *Kañchagāra* of Baḷḷigāve. He has been described in two of the inscriptions on the doorjamb and pedestal of the main deity of the temple as *Baḷḷigāve nagarada putra* (worthy son of the Baḷḷigāve city), *Mahānagarada magaṁ* (the son of the great city).[2] The wall inscription, in question, is also related to Maḷōja's family in the sense that it records the death of Maḷōja's son Ekadamarōja and his wife (name not known). The cause for the death of these persons have not been specified in this epigraph. But the reasons for inserting the relief sculptures of these two great personalities on the wall of the Kāḷikādēvī temple appear to be obvious. It was built or rather rebuilt in stone by *Kañchagāra* Maḷōja of Baḷḷigāve as evidenced by the temple record. Kāḷī happens to be the family deity (*kuladēvatā*) of *Pañchalōhādhipatis*, to which community Maḷōja belonged; not only that Maḷōja built or rebuilt the Kāḷī temple but continued to maintain the temple as stated in the inscription.[3] The prominence or the social status of Maḷōja is indicated in such expression as *Baḷḷigāve nagarada putra* and *mahānagarada magaṁ* He is also described as Māṇikōjanaḷiya (son-in-law of Māṇikōja). To these known genealogical details are now being added the following facts and figures in relief provided by the recently discovered inscription:

Māṇikōja
|
(son-in-law)
|
Kañchagāra Maḷōja
|
(son)
Ekadamarōja–wife (name not known)
|
daughter
|
Vinayavve.

Thus the association of the community of *Pañchalōhādhipatis* particularly the carpenters and goldsmiths with the Kāḷī shrine continues even to this day. They represent the officiating prierts of the temple on special occasions like *rathōtsava* (car festival) and other *parvas*. But the associated family-deity is iconographical curiosity in so far as the composite relief sculpture which include the three faces with *kirīṭa* depicted to the right of Kāḷī, seated Gaṇapati to her left side and most curiously the relief sculpture of sacrificing elephant.[4] These *kirīṭadhāri* faces may be taken as Indrasēna, Rudrasēna and Bhadrasēna, three celebrated sculptors known as "*Kañchiviras*" as described in a Kannada kāvya know as *Kañchipurāṇa*. Further study of the *Kañchipurāṇa* as well as the study of the iconographical details of Kāḷī temple may throw light on this unique composite sculpture of Kāḷī associated with *Kañchagara* and other *pañchalōhādhipatis*.

The place-name Baḷigave for Baḷḷigāve, personal names like Maḷōja (and not Māḷōja), Ekadamarōja, and Vinayavve are also noteworthy from the point of view of social history.

Thus the new wall inscription further

corroborates the association of the *Kāḷī* temple with *Pañchalōhādhipatis*, and brings out the information probably for the first time regarding the death of Maḷōja's son Ekadamarōja and his wife as well as the erection of the images of these persons in the Kāḷī temple by their daughter Vinayavve.

TEXT[5]

1 *Śrīmatu Baligāveya Kañchagāra Marōjana-maganu Ekdamarōjanu*

2 *svargasthanāgalu Yītana-magaḷu Vinayavveyarī yi*

3 *b[b*]ara pratimaya māḍise Śrīkālikādēviyarā sthānadalu niḷisidaḷu*

Notes :

1 See Janananda, G. Sarita Jnananda, (Eds) *Acharya Abhinandana*, Bangalore, 1980, pp. 216 ff.

2 *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk 133(1131) ; *QJMS* LXVIII (3–4) pp. 28 ff.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Dr. A. Sundara's description of the iconography may be taken as one of possible ones ; it however needs, further researches in this regard. I have taken up a separate study of the Kāḷikā temple of Baḷḷigāve. My thanks are due to Dr. Sundara for his help in this study.

5 From photographs.

17. A NOTE ON THE BARSI PLATES OF KRISHNA I

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer

The Barsi plates of Kṛishṇa I have been edited by Dr. H. S. Thosar and A. A. Hingmire in the preceeding pages of this journal. We find therein some important differences in their reading and interpretation of the text of the copper plate charter.

On the first side of the second plate, in line 28, the editors have failed to read the words *sādhita-Māhēśvarē* which was perhaps intended by the composer to convey more than one meaning. The word *sādhita* means 'brought about', 'accomplished', 'perfected and mastered', 'subdued' etc (Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v.). The expression *Chālukya-mahēśvaratvaṁ* occurring in some of the Western Chālukya charters, much in the sense of *paramēśvaratva*, shows that the word *mahēśvaratva*, which in a sense is the same as *māhēśvara*, was used to denote the total sovereignity of the Karnataka emperors. Therefore, the description of Kṛishṇa I a *sādhita-māhēśvara* may be taken, for one thing, to refer to the fact that by finally liquidating Chālukya Kīrttivarman II he had successfully established his total sovereignity over the erstwhile Chālukya empire.

Alternatively, Mahēśvara could as well be the name of a place of strategic importance, the conquest of which may have been absolutely essential for the successful accomplishment of Kṛishṇa I's Central Indian campaign. There is, as a matter of fact a place of that name even today on the banks of the river Narmadā in West Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh. In this case the expression *sādhita-māhēśvara* may be taken to refer to the fact that Kṛishṇa I had reduced to subjection the strategically important township of Mahēśvara in the course of his campaign in Central India.

The editors have stated that king Kṛishṇa I made a grant of a village to Śrīdharabhaṭṭa belonging to Kāśyapa-gōtra. They have further stated that "besides the endowment of Vaṭa-grama and Kālasaṁvara-grāma to Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, the present record also registers land-grants made by Kṛishṇarāja to anther 120 brāhmaṇas". These two statements are not corroborated by the text of the copper plate charter under review. What the charter records is that Vallabharāja, i.e., Kṛishṇarāja on the given date granted five villages (ll 36-41 *Ēvaṁ chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalla(la)kshitaṁ grāma-pañchakaṁ | Duggaiyōpādhyāya-pauttrāya | Ravisvāmi-dvivēda-sōma-yājina[ḥ*] puttrāya | aśēsha-śabd-ārtha-vēdinē vēda-vēdāṁga-pāragāya mahāsatvāya | Kāpysa-gōttrāya Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭāya | pūrvva-bhujyamāna ēva Śrī-Vallabha-rājēna apratigrāhaka iti matvā tēbhyō grāmēbhyaḥ śāsanaṁ dattaṁ[|*] tēna cha viṁśaty = uttara-śata-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ vēda-vēdāṁgā pāragēbhyaḥ śruri-smṛiti-vihita-karm-ānushṭhānaparēbhyaḥ dyūta-chau[r*]ya-śūdrī-gamana-nirddhāṭana-parebhyaḥ llō(lō)kōttarēbhyaḥ pratipāditaṁ* : "to Śrīdharabhaṭṭa who is described as *apratigrāhaka*, who belonged to Kāpysa-gōtra, who is the grandson of Duggaiyōpādhyāya, the son of Ravisvāmin who in turn is des-

cribed as a *dvivēdin* and *Sōmayājin* and who had profound knowledge in Vēda, Vēdāmga and grammar (*śabdārtha*). Śrīdharabhaṭṭa in turn, gave away the gift villages to 120 eminent brāhmaṇas".

The five villages granted by the king were Vaṭa-grāma and Kālasaṁvara-grama (*Vaṭa-grāmaḥ Kālasaṁvara-grāma-dhāna-samōpēta*), Chakvaḍā, Kiṇihikā and Ghāragāma (*Niguṇaaūrasya āgnēyāṁ diśi Chakvaḍā grāmaḥ Kiṇihikā Ghāragāma dvayēna saha*). All these five villages, mentioned in the grant in two separate groups, were situated in Niguṇaūra-vishaya. The boundaries of the two gift villages Vaṭa-grāma and Kālasaṁvara-grāma were to the east Khaḍakāḍavirā, to the south-east Aiyaṇapōḍōlla-grāma, to the south Vihilaṁva-grāma, to the southwest Niguṇaūra and to the west a row of banyan trees extending from Niguṇaūra to Ājñaṇavāṇiyaka and, to the north, Kuḍaṁgā-nadī and Kāra-grāma. The three other grant villages Chakvaḍā-grāma, Kiṇihikā and Ghāragāma were situated to the south east of Niguṇaūra and bounded on the east by Vṛihadviraka, on the south by Vavula-grāma and Vaghapa-grāma, on the west by Pāṇivāḍa The boundary village if any existing to the north of the three granted villages is, however, not mentioned. In the light of the readings suggested above regarding the names of the villages mentioned in the grant, the identification of the villages suggested by the editors will have to be revised.

BOOK REVIEWS

South Indian History and Society ; Studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850-1800 , by Noboru Karashima, published by R. Dayal, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1984, pp. XXXVI and 217. Price : Rs. 140/-.

The book which is a compilation of research papers written by Prof. Karashima is a new and welcome addition to the literature on South Indian history and society. Though as the author states, the volume is compiled by the inclusion of thirteen research papers, one of them being an English translation based on a paper originally published in Japanese, it runs well as a book as the subject matter of these papers is interrelated. The subject is broadly grouped under four heads 1)Land holding in Chōḷa times (2) Integration of Society in Chōḷa times (3)Revenue system under Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas and (4) Aspects of later periods. The subheads, which are thirteen, throw much light on various important aspects of the agricultural holdings on their administration during the Chōḷa and later period. There is an interesting discussion on revenue assessment, power structure of the Chōḷa rule, village communities, social and administrative systems during the Chōḷa period and the author also dwells on the sytems of their contemporaries, the Pāṇḍyas. He also traces the condition of land - holdings in the Nāyaka period and the place of *mirāsdars* in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The author has very carefully assessed the views of various scholars including those of Burton Stein about the nature of bureaucracy during the Chōḷa times and substantiates his own views with inscriptional evidences. He shows that the Chōḷa administration far from being non-existant, had the required grip inspite of considerable independence enjoyed by persons at the lower levels.

In Chapter I, the author has discussed at length the nature of land-holdings in the *brahmadēya* and *non-brahmadēya* villages and the role of land-holders and cultivators. There is also an interesting discussion about private land-holding in the lower Kāvēri valley.

While discussing about the power structure of Chōḷa rule, in Chapter II, the author highlights about the administrative divisions like the *maṇḍalams*, *vaḷanāḍus*, *nāḍus* etc., which strengthen the author's view about the strength of Chōḷa administration. He also discusses about the irrigational sytems, temple administration, cremational ,grounds attached to the villages etc., He shows, how by applying statistical methods, some hitherto unknown facts about the Chōḷa administration and the social set up during the Chōḷa period are revealed.

Chapter III dealing with revenue system prevalent in the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya areas gives an interesting account of the revenue terms prevalent in these areas and shows that the Pāṇḍya inscriptions reveal some new terms not used in the Chōḷa area.

Chapter IV deals with the land systems and control of land attempted by the Central and local powers, during the

Nāyaka and later periods. He also discusses about the *Ryatwari* system introduced by the East India-company and the right of the *mirasdars* in the Chingleput area.

He stresses the examination of the data provided by the epigraphs on the one hand and other documents on the other and shows how the socio-economic development can be traced through centuries from the Chōḷa period to the British times.

Coming from the masterly pen of Prof. Karashima, who has made survey of both the inscriptions in various regions of the Tamil country and the survey of the regions themselves, with his scholarly assessment of the data and conclusions, very carefully arrived at, the book provides an upto date and therefore very valuable account about the researches in the field of socio-economic history of South India, of which the Tamil country forms a very important part. The value of the book has increased multifold because of the maps, notes, bibliography and index, which the author has prepared with a meticulous care. The book is bound to be welcomed both by the students and established scholars working in the field of socio-economic history of South India. The author deserves our hearty congratulations for the same. The printing of the book is very neat and the get up pleasing and qualitative. For this, we also congratulate the publishers.

Madhav N. Katti.

Guptakālīna Abhilēkha : by Dr. S. R. Goyal (Kusumanjali Prakashana, Meerut, 1984, pp. i-xix+385 with 35 plates); Price. Rs 375/-.

The author of this book Dr. S. R. Goyal is already known to the world of indologists through a number of his earlier publications. He has already done a lot of work on the origin and palaeographical development of the Brāhmī script and a few of his findings in this field are to be well taken while others of a speculative nature deserve serious consideration. The present work is a compendium of inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas of Magadha and their allies and feudatories. Of the Guptas themselves, the volume includes fiftynine inscriptions including recent discoveries Of the other allied families, twenty inscriptions find their place. As many as thirty five well produced illustrations appended to the volume considerbly enhance its value. The book is in Hindi, a point which should be appreciated. All the earlier corpuses of the Gupta inscriptions contain critical comments and notes in English while Dr. Goyal's volume will help a bigger circle of historical researchers to get closely acquainted with the epigraphs and history of the Guptas.

While making his critical observations on these inscriptions, Dr. Goyal has broken much new ground. As significant examples, we may quote here his suggested identification of Chandra of the Mehrauli inscription with the great Samudragupta as also his conclusion that the Nālandā and Gayā copper plate charters of Samudragupta may not be wholly spurious but on the other hand could, be later copies of earlier original charters, the genealogical portions alone being lifted from later inscriptions and hence unreliable.

The author has not spared any pains

in highlighting all the aspects of Gupta epigraphy and the presentation of his observations under suitable sub-titles is systematically done. Because of this, while he has rendered the task of research scholars who would like to go through his views and accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones easier, the present publication is a great boon to the students of Indian Epigraphy who would like to get more closely acquainted with Gupta epigraphs.

The book has been well produced though the price is a little on the higher side While eagerly recommending the book for the consideration of the scholarly world, the reviewer would like to congratulate Dr. S. R. Goyal for a work well done.

K. V. Ramesh

PLATE I

TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SIYAMANGALAM

(A)



(B)

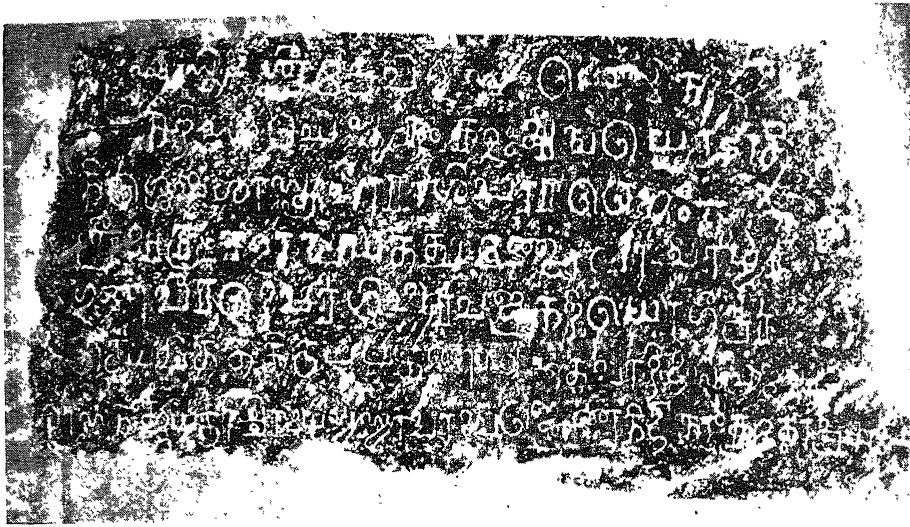


PLATE II

CHANDAVARA INSCRIPTION OF BIRADEVARASA

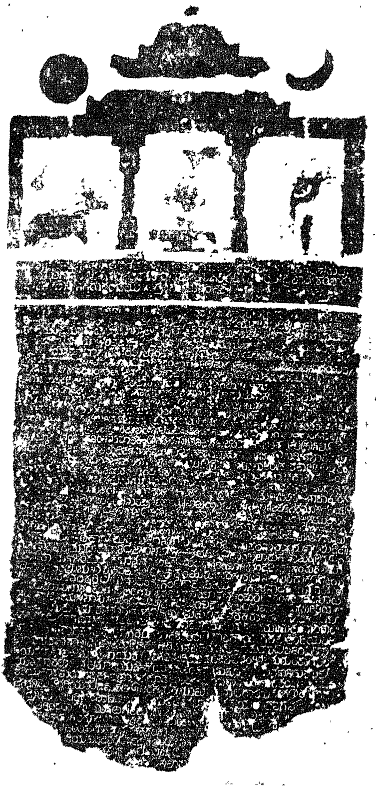


PLATE III

HYDERABAD PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDARAJAVIHARA

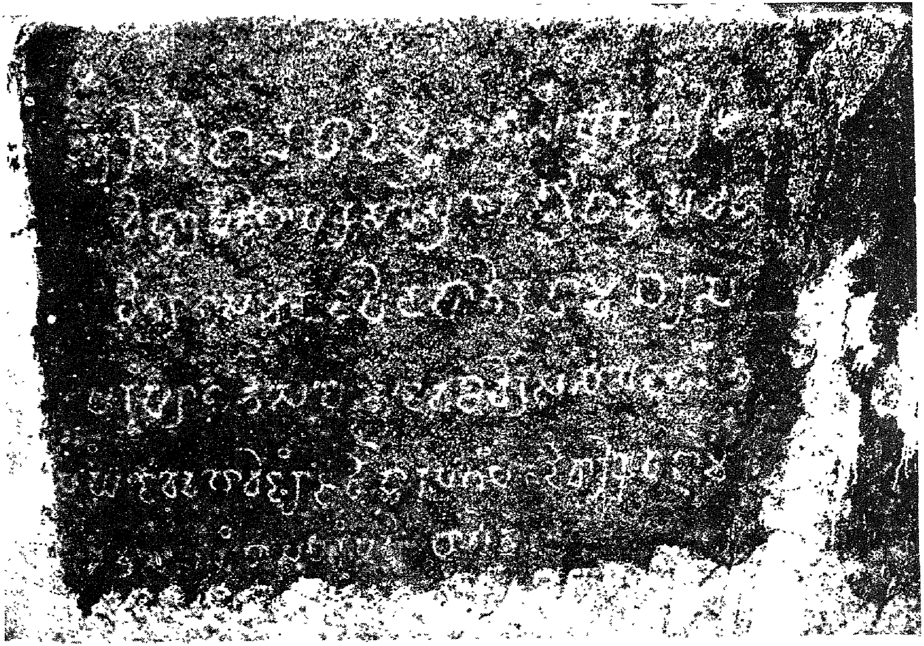
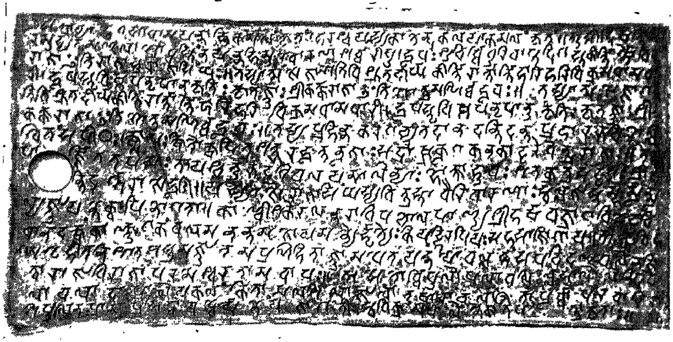


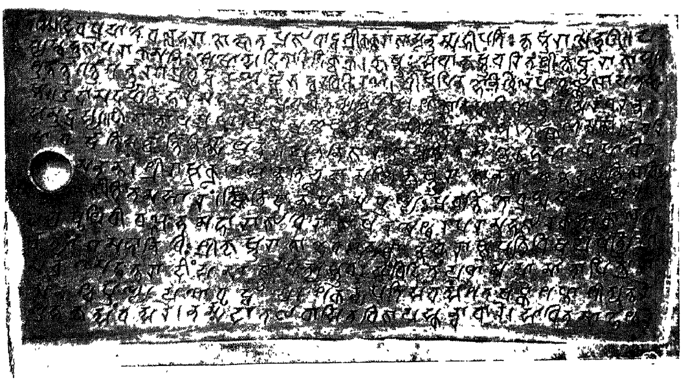
PLATE IV

BARSI PLATES OF KRISHNA I

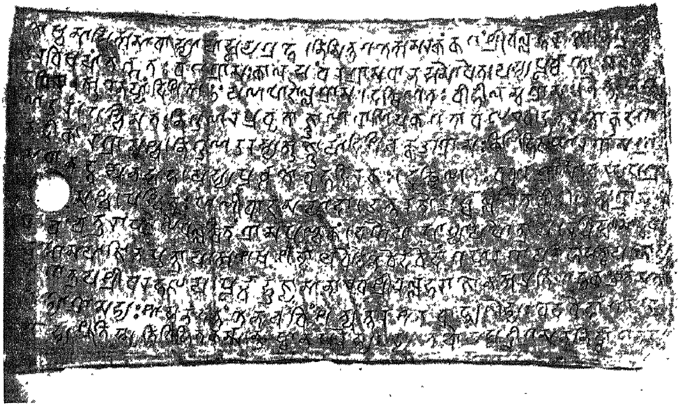
[I]



[IIa]



[IIb]



III

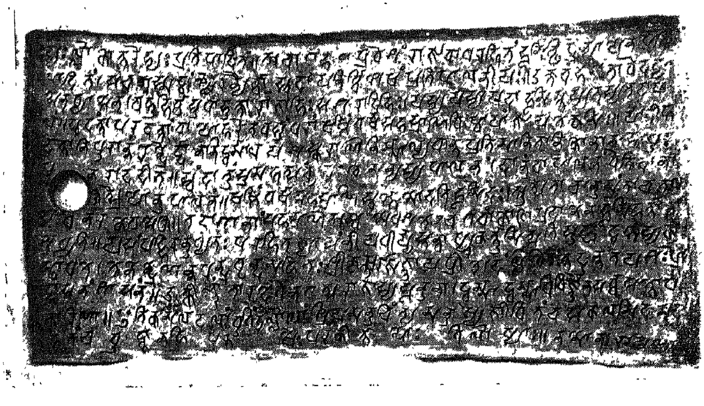
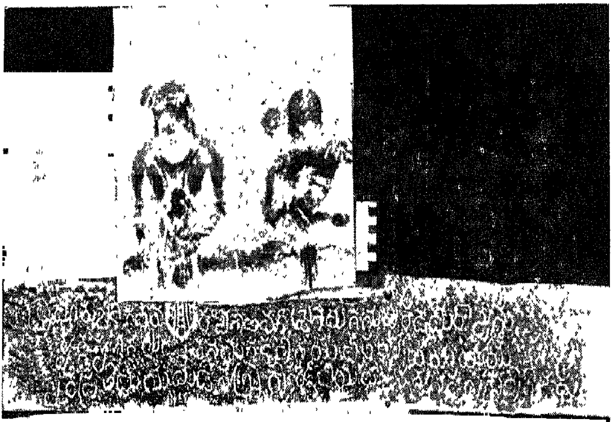


PLATE V
PALA INSCRIPTION OF KATTIYARASA



PLATE VI

INSCRIPTION OF KALIKADEVI TEMPLE



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TO

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